EXPLORING GLOBAL AND LOCAL INTERSECTIONS AT A PROSPECTIVE WORLD HERITAGE SITE IN SOUTH KOREA: IMPLICATIONS FOR SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT, STRATEGIC PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

To date, there has been a lack of research examining the process of developing a World Heritage Site (WHS), in particular from a global-local perspective. Consequently, very little is known about the relationships and dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development. Moreover, relatively little attention has been devoted to studying the views of local communities in and around WHSs, as well as their perceptions of the challenges and opportunities that occur from tourism development and WHS designation.

This dissertation employs the theoretical lens of glocalization and focuses on the local perspective in the context of Naganeupseong, a prospective WHS in South Korea. Naganeupseong is a Korean traditional historic folk village dating from the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). The village is surrounded by a fortress wall which prevents outsiders from having an open access to the site (they need to pay an entrance fee to look around the village). Inside the fortress, 288 people actually live in 150 households. Within this context, this study explores the intersection of the global and the local and the negotiations between the representatives of those two perspectives in the process of constructing and negotiating heritage, a process that is inherently dynamic, contingent and contested. It examines how, under what conditions, and to what extent the global and the local intersect in the process of preparing for World Heritage Listing.

This research employs a multiple methods approach that is guided by institutional ethnography including participant observation, institutional texts, and semi-structured interviews. It focuses on the local perspectives and understanding of heritage, as well as the challenges and opportunities presented by the potential title of WHS from a global/local interaction perspective. By doing so, it examines the perceived significance of the site, the negotiation process to suit the

needs of the global within the local context, as well as the locals' expectations and concerns for WHS designation and its perceived corresponding impacts.

This study furthers our understanding of the intersection of global/local processes involved in determining what constitutes World Heritage. It also serves as an excellent opportunity to understand the impacts of such processes from a pre-WHS designation perspective.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Over the past several decades, the tourism industry has grown dramatically alongside the rapid development of transportation and communication technologies. These innovations have enhanced the ability of tourists to participate in tourism activities and thus have brought increasing numbers of tourists worldwide. Due to this rapid growth of the tourism industry, countries around the world are becoming increasingly interested in promoting tourism development. They see the potential to receive and gain significant benefits such as economic growth, cultural revitalization, cultural exchange, enhancement of public places, and other social benefits. Moreover, since the tourism industry is increasingly working to be perceived as a green industry and a tool of peace that can contribute toward making our world a harmonious place (Robinson & Picard, 2006; Scott, 2012), tourism and its development has come to be an important issue in contemporary society.

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 2005), the number of international passenger arrivals has increased exponentially from 25 million in 1950 to 846 million in 2006, and this number is estimated to reach over 1.56 billion by the year 2020. For those international travelers, WTO has recognized that heritage and culture have become significant components in attracting almost 40 per cent of them (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). In fact, heritage tourism is "one of the largest, most pervasive, and fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry today" (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009, p. 3). The World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines heritage tourism as "an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country" (as cited in Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 1). In most cases, cultural

tourists visit heritage places to enhance learning, satisfy curiosity and feelings of nostalgia, grow spiritually, or to discover themselves and construct their personal or collective identity (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

On the other hand, the process of globalization is a significant phenomenon in contemporary society. On a global level, societies are becoming ever more interrelated and interconnected, while simultaneously influencing and being influenced by others. Although this process of globalization may lead to homogenization, it also presents the potential and possibility for making the world more divergent and heterogenized (Khondker, 2005). Indeed, the process of globalization is far more complex and dynamic than previously assumed; the process is better described by a notion captured in the concept of "glocalization" (Robertson, 1994, 1995). As two regimes, the global and the local, are becoming intimately interconnected and intertwined, both mutually influencing, interacting and negotiating boundaries, co-producing and creating distinctive glocal cultures. In other words, the global and the local are interdependent in that "global is constructed locally just as the local is constructed globally" (Mazzarella, 2005, p. 17).

Such dynamics can be particularly captured and further problematized in the process of determining what constitutes a World Heritage Site (WHS). This is because a WHS is local heritage that is defined by a global institution (UNESCO), thus expanding its boundary from the local to the global. Indeed, local heritage is now being shaped, defined, managed and contested by the forces and demands of the global. WHSs are places and buildings of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) recognized by UNESCO as constituting World Heritage “for whose protection it is the duty of the international community as a whole to co-operate.” World Heritage status is regarded as "the outcome of an international agreement to promote the identification, preservation and better management of heritage that is deemed to be of universal

value" (Su & Wall, 2012, p. 1067). In other words, WHS implies that "it is 'owned' (at least culturally) not only by the local people but also by the world community," and accordingly, "there is the potential for a range of different ways of relating to, understanding the significance of, and giving meaning to heritage objects, sites and practices" (Harrison, 2010, p. 8). Consequently, a significant level of interaction occurs between the two regimes in the negotiation process of constructing cultural representations, interpretations, and value systems, which makes heritage itself a dynamic process. For instance, the gap between global values and practices (e.g., UNESCO statement on a WHS as of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV), UNESCO treaties and operational guidelines) and the local value system embedded in the local context may be significant and demand different levels of negotiation in terms of ways of protecting, managing and developing the site. In addition, the local may need to negotiate the diverse demands and expectations of global tourists; which, in turn, may lead to cultural transformation in the daily, lived experiences and practices of the local. By introducing the example of Dresden, Germany, which was the first WHS to be delisted against its will, failing to mediate the conflicting demand between heritage preservation (UNESCO; global interest) and tourism development (the City Council; local interest), Santos and Zobler (2012) called attention to the importance of considering "who is invested with the right to determine what parts of a nation qualify as OUV, how those decisions weight in tourism development decisions, and what UNESCO sanction portends for heritage sites, residents and tourism" (p. 485).

Today, over 1,000 sites have earned World Heritage Site (WHS) designation, and it is estimated that 25 to 30 sites are added to the list annually (Fyall & Rakic, 2006). While the main reason for a call to designate a site is to safeguard, protect or conserve the significance of the cultural site, it is also considered an 'effective brand' to increase its recognition, attract more

international tourists, and to promote cultural tourism on the global level (Buckely, 2004; Poria, Reichel, & Cohen, 2011; Yang, Lin, & Han, 2010). Indeed, heritage preservation and tourism development are intertwined at heritage sites "where international initiatives interact with local priorities" (Su & Wall, 2012, p. 1067). Su and Wall (2012) argue that tensions between heritage preservation and tourism are "especially pronounced at World Heritage Sites with the involvement of international, national, regional and local stakeholders, and it is difficult to achieve a balance between them" (p. 1067).

The notion of heritage and its meaning is a social construction. As such, conflicts and tensions among various stakeholders, each of whom has a different interpretation of the past, are inherently contested. However, in general, the process of constructing and negotiating heritage has been largely led by the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006), and the significance of heritage has been mainly determined by a privileged few who have the power to judge and decide what is valuable to preserve and what is not. Although heritage involves a variety of stakeholders who might have different interpretations and perceptions of a certain cultural resource, including both its potential use and scale of operation, these different perspectives have been largely overlooked and even neglected in the decision making process of tourism development and heritage management. Moreover, the importance of considering the locals' perceptions and perspectives regarding heritage management and tourism development of their site has been largely neglected (Jimura, 2011).

Indeed, there is a lack of research on the views of local communities regarding the potential changes (economic, social, cultural and environmental) from tourism and/or the WHS designation process. Specifically, Smith and Wobst (2005) indicate that "More and more decisions that affect Indigenous peoples and their communities are made at the global level, far

away from local realities...often Indigenous peoples have neither voice nor representation in the global decision-making that affects their lives" (p. 6). Since the locals are the ones who must contend with the direct impacts from the development process, it thus becomes important to explore and understand the impacts of a management structure, heritage preservation, development plans and potential tourism on the local community.

1.2 Problem Statement and Purpose of Study

Currently (in 2016) 1,052 sites (situated in 165 State Parties) have earned WHS designation and 1,643 (situated in 173 State Parties) are on a list of tentative sites (WHL, 2015). Those on the tentative list include cultural and natural sites that the State Parties plan to nominate in the next five to ten years. Although there are more sites in the process of earning WHS designation than those already designated, previous research has largely focused on the post-effects of WHS designation (Bott et al., 2011). Indeed, numerous studies have focused on the various effects and changes due to WHS designation while few have explored the initial stage of the planning and development process of pre-designation (Millar, 2006; Silverman, 2016).

To date, previous research in heritage management has mainly focused on previously established World Heritage Sites (Bott et al., 2011). Scholars have investigated the impacts of post-WHS designation including financial benefits (Buckley, 2004) and the characteristics of site management and stakeholder collaboration after earning the title WHS (Li, Wu, & Cai, 2008). Moreover, many previous studies focused on tourists' perceptions and their experience of the site (Halewood & Hannam, 2001; Poria, Bulter, & Airey, 2003), along with promoting tourism development (Yang, Lin, & Han, 2010), and the issues of conservation and visitor management (Hall & Piggin, 2003; Shackley, 2006).

However, there is a lack of research examining the pre-designation process and dynamics of developing WHSs; particularly, from a global-local intersection perspective, exploring the relationships and dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development (Su & Wall, 2012). In addition, relatively little attention has been devoted to studying the views of local communities in/around the WHS and their perceptions of the changes that occur from tourism development and/or WHS designation (Jimura, 2011). Indeed, "Far too often, heritage is in action in the hands of the World Heritage Committee and national governments keen for inscription without adequate attention to the needs, desires, and rights of the stakeholders who will be most affected by listing" (Waterson, Watson, & Silverman, 2017, p. 7). This dissertation seeks to address such gaps in the literature.

It is important to note that there has been a paradigm shift in the management of heritage properties. Recently, scholars based in various disciplines (anthropology, sociology, tourism, etc.) have begun to critically rethink the role of cultural tourism in order to find better ways to take the local context into account (i.e., engage a bottom-up, grassroots approach). Moreover, a significant amount of literature focuses on the locals' perception of tourism and how they are affected by it, as well as how locals see the tourist (as opposed to the traditional interest in how the tourist sees the local).

Millar (2006) describes this shift as a 'sea change' in the process of enlisting WHS, as the concept of stakeholders expands to include host communities in the planning and development of their resources. Along with the efforts to understand the post-effects of WHS designation on local communities, Millar (2006) further proposes a case study of stakeholder collaboration in the planning and development of a region in preparing for World Heritage listing.

The current study takes a different approach from previous research. Rather than focusing

on the effects of post-WHS designation, this research proposes an examination of the global/local interaction in the initial process of planning and development (pre-designation) by focusing on a region in South Korea (Naganeupseong) currently preparing for World Heritage listing. To do so, this research, employs the theoretical lens of glocalization to explore the global/local intersection in the process of constructing heritage. Naganeupseong in South Korea is one of the tentative sites attempting to earn WHS designation. It was submitted to the World Heritage Tentative List in 2011 for its 'Outstanding Universal Value (OUV).' The site is under consideration for four criteria of OUV among ten selection criteria: testimony to cultural tradition (Criteria iii), significance in human history (Criteria iv), traditional human settlement (Criteria v), and heritage associated with events of universal significance (Criteria vi).

This research identifies key stakeholders involved in the process of WHS designation, and explores each stakeholder’s perception and interpretation of cultural resources. The level of stakeholder collaboration in the process of heritage management will be examined as well. Moreover, as Jimura (2011) indicates, only a limited amount of research has focused on local communities and their views on the developmental use of cultural resources, so their perspectives will be explored in depth in this study. By focusing on the local perspectives and understanding of heritage and cultural change from a global/local interaction perspective, it examines the perceived significance of the site, the negotiation process to suit the needs of the global in the local context, as well as the local's expectations and fears for WHS designation and its perceived corresponding impacts.

Here, it is important to note that the local should not be considered a homogeneous group, but rather as diverse and heterogeneous and involving a wide range of different, as well as overlapping, social groups. In general, this research assumes that there are both voluntary groups

(who have made some form of investment in order to receive benefits from tourism development) and involuntary groups (who stand to be affected by the activities or outcomes of tourism development) that characterize and constitute the local (Wilson, Richards, & MacDonnell, 2008, p. 201). Indeed, within local communities and between different community members including local authorities, there may exist different or conflicting interests and demands toward the use of the cultural resource, as well as a certain level of tension depending on the locals' different socio-demographic characteristics including their relationship to tourism. Moreover, there may be issues of power and legitimacy involved within the community when making one's voice heard in the decision-making process of heritage management and tourism development (Timur & Getz, 2008).

This research will begin by identifying and defining who is the local, who has the power and legitimacy to represent the local, and who is being included or excluded in the decision-making process of heritage and tourism development. Sequentially, each community member will be categorized depending on their social profile or status (if necessary), and each of their perspectives and perceptions of cultural resources, changes, the global/local intersection, as well as the process of tourism development in preparing for WHS designation, will be explored in depth in this study.

In short, by adopting the concept of glocalization and focusing on the local perspective in the context of Naganeupseong, South Korea, this research aims to explore the intersection of the global and the local and its negotiation processes in the context of heritage construction of OUV, a process that is inherently dynamic, contingent and contested (Teo & Li, 2003).

1.3 Research Questions

Using the case of Naganeupseong, and by adopting an institutional ethnographic research approach that includes participant observation, institutional texts, and semi-structured interviews, this study aims to answer the following research questions: How do the global and the local articulate and construct multifaceted intersections in the context of heritage tourism? How are value systems similar or different between the global (in terms of UNESCO's notion of Outstanding Universal Value) and the local, and are there conflicts or tensions between the two systems? To what extent is the process of glocalization mediated in WHS, and by whom? How does this process redefine, reproduce and restructure the local landscape? How does the local perceive the existing tourist, and what are their strategies (if any) to adopt, negotiate, or negate the potential overwhelming tourist demands (both domestic and international)? What are the local's expectations and fears for WHS designation? And, how do those expectations and fears align with global expectations for WHS designation and preservation?

1.4 Significance of the Study

By answering the research questions mentioned above, this study will contribute to our understanding of the process of constructing heritage, and to illuminating how heritage is being managed in the cultural context of South Korea. This research will further our understanding of the dynamic processes of identifying and managing heritage, as well as how notions of heritage are continuously negotiated and transformed by the intersection of the global and the local. The findings of this study also provide practical and theoretical implications not only for this research site but also for the broader context of heritage management and sustainable tourism development. Indeed, the micro-analysis of this research will enhance our understanding of the

macro-subject of the global-local nexus in general. This research will ultimately provide significant theoretical and practical implications for sustainable development, planning and management by identifying how tourism and preservation can best work together to mutual advantage. Moreover, the findings of this research will contribute to other pre-designation sites around the world that are facing and experiencing a similar process of constructing and managing heritage and tourism in the process of preparing for WHS designation.

In addition, when the site eventually earns WHS status, the results of this study will be meaningful as basic knowledge that can be compared to or contrasted with any possible change to heritage management and tourism development processes. The findings of this research may also function as useful fundamental data that can help to better measure and evaluate the actual impacts of WHS designation such as change of perceived significance of the site among stakeholders, change of heritage management, perceived benefits and costs including tourism, amongst others.

1.5 WHS Nomination Process in Korea: Global, Local and the State

The administration structures and decision-making processes regarding WHS nomination in South Korea involve the interplay of the local (local/regional government), the state (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea), and the global (UNESCO) (**Table 1-1**). In the context of Naganeupseong, the local government (Suncheon City and Jeonnam Province) initiates the application process of WHS nomination by purposing the significance of the site to the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea. Cultural Heritage Administration then reviews the application and makes final decision for submission to UNESCO, based on the evaluation of advisory committee that involves authorities and experts in relevant fields for scholarly research

(ICOMOS[1] Korea Committee, UNESCO Korea Committee).

According to Huh (2010), a member of UNESCO Korea Committee, the process of developing the application form for WHS nomination "typically takes at least 2-3 years in that authorities and experts in relevant fields demand certain period of time to prepare necessary pictures, maps and plan drawings" (p. 4). He further suggests the importance of following the *Operational Guidelines* of UNESCO and preparing for effective diplomacy strategies toward UNESCO and ICOMOS in order to ensure successful nomination process.

Table1-1. Governance/administration structures for WHS designation in Korea

Local (local government)	- Local government prepares and develops nomination application form and submit to Cultural Heritage Administration
State (Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea)	- Cultural Heritage Administration reviews and/or revises the application - Initial application reviewed by Cultural Heritage Committee (Cultural Heritage Administration-affiliated institute) and final decision for submission made by the Administrator of Cultural Heritage Administration - Advisory bodies: ICOMOS Korea Committee, UNESCO Korea Committee (on-site investigation and evaluation) - Cultural Heritage Administration evaluates/revises the translated English version application to ensure accuracy
Global (UNESCO)	- Final application submission to UNESCO by Cultural Heritage Administration (via Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Korea) - Evaluation process from Advisory Committee based on operational guidelines: ICOMOS (on-site investigation and evaluation) - Final decision made by World Heritage Committee based on the evaluation of ICOMOS

On the other hand, at the local level, the Promotion Committee is planned to be organized to better represent the site in the process of preparing WHS designation. The committee consists of representatives of the government, academia, and the public (**Figure 1-1**). Huh (2010)

[1] ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) is "an international network of heritage and conservation practitioners and specialists concerned with the protection and conservation of historically important sites and places" (Smith, 2006, p. 88).

specifically suggests that organizing the Promotion Committee at the local level is essential for successful WHS designation: "While the final decision and management of WHS nomination process is led by Cultural Heritage Administration, the local institutions and experts (e.g., local government, academic researchers, cultural heritage experts, folk culture historians, cultural heritage interpreters, cultural institute/center, and related private/public agencies) should play a central role in the nomination process in order to make the process successful" (p. 16). Given that the WHS nomination process is becoming ever more competitive both at the global and the local levels, the importance of promoting local support and public attention in the process of WHS designation is considered crucial. Indeed, "In 2005 the *Operational Guidelines* explicitly referred to 'participation by a wide variety of stakeholders' including 'local communities' and the World Heritage Committee has demonstrated an increasing concern with this principle" (Waterton, Watson, & Silverman, 2017, p. 9).

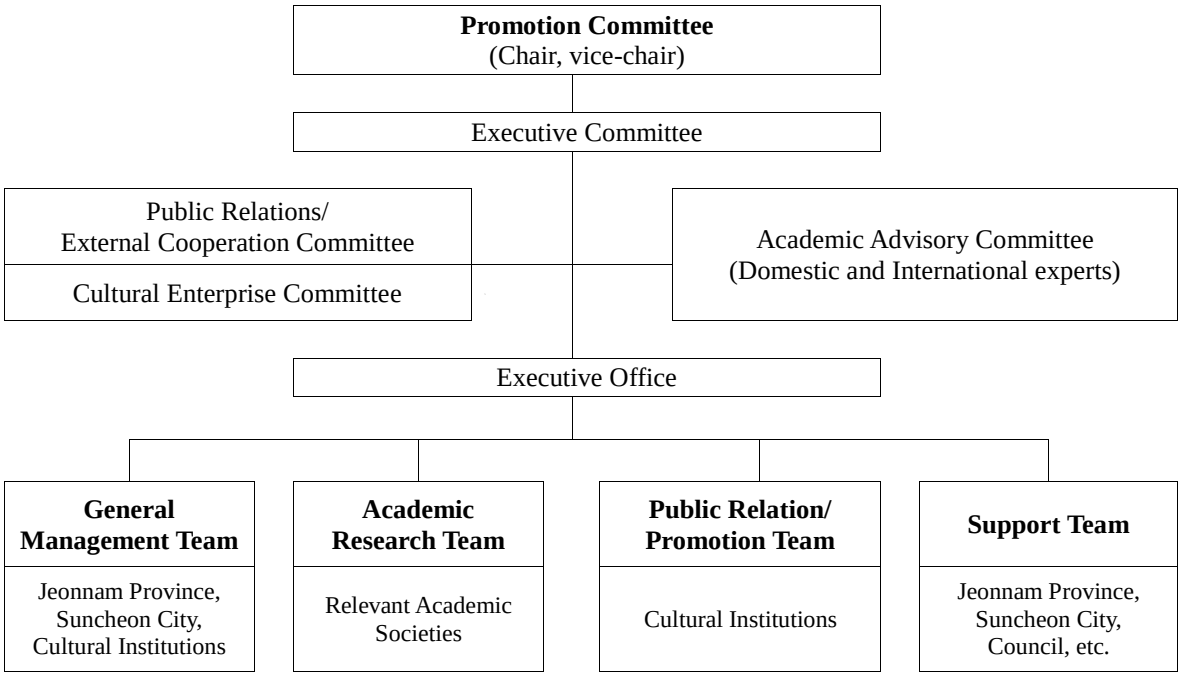

Figure 1-1. Naganeupseong Promotion Committee organization for WHS designation (Huh, 2010, p. 18)

1.6 Overview of Remaining Chapters

In Chapter 2, literature review, I start by discussing the concept of glocalization as a framework of this study, emphasizing the significance of the global/local intersection in the process of world making in general and cultural change in particular in contemporary society. This discussion will highlight the dynamic process of the global/local interaction and its heterogeneous outcomes, co-producing, negotiating and creating distinctive glocal cultures due to the significant influence of the local context, its particularities, cultures and identities. I then overview the nature of heritage that involves diverse interpretations, representations and identities depending on the different perspectives of various stakeholders involved in the process of constructing and negotiating heritage. The discourse of contested heritage will be critically overviewed, while discussing the importance of recognizing and understanding the various stakeholders' perspectives, especially the local, in defining and managing heritage. In terms of the uses of heritage, I overview the relevant literature of tourism development and its potential impacts based on World Heritage status. In order to better understand the locals' status in the context of tourism, the power relationship between the tourist and the local will be examined, and I adopt the perspective that the local, who has been largely marginalized in the process of tourism development, is not a static or passive agent but an active participant in the process of tourism development and management. Finally, considering both positive and negative effects of tourism development, I outline possible strategies for sustainable tourism development and management.

Overall, the literature review section, based on the concept of glocalization, emphasizes the importance of understanding the local context and the locals' perspectives in undertaking the dynamic process of heritage and tourism construction and its development. It advances the importance of addressing and adopting local knowledge, concerns, issues and problems as a

means of cultural dialogue in the process of heritage and tourism development.

In Chapter 3, methodology, I illustrate the characteristics of my research site and the purpose of using ethnographic research methods in my study. Moreover, I demonstrate the iterative process of collecting and analyzing data by employing a multiple methods approach that is guided by institutional ethnography (including participant observation, institutional texts, and semi-structured interviews) which aims to better explore the multifaceted interactions between the global and the local and its negotiation processes in the context of Naganeupseong, a prospective WHS.

In Chapter 4, findings, I illustrate my findings based on collected data from my fieldwork in Naganeupseong. Guided by institutional ethnography (observations, interviews, and institutional texts), I outline the history of Naganeupseong, the situational context of living in Naganeupseong and the distrust dynamics between the identified stakeholders (locals remaining inside the village, groups of relocated residents, business owners and workers, newcomers, and the local managers of the site). In addition, I present the narratives of some of those stakeholders that best represent their feelings about WHS designation, as well as the residents' fears and expectations for WHS designation.

Finally, in Chapter 5, discussion and conclusion, I summarize and conceptualize the findings within a broad context and based on the existing literature. I also provide theoretical and practical implications for sustainable tourism development, strategic planning and management. Limitations and directions for future research are also discussed.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Globalization and Glocalization

The process of globalization is a significant phenomenon in contemporary society. On a global level, societies are becoming ever more interrelated, intersected, interconnected and interpenetrated while simultaneously being influenced by and influencing others (Khondker, 2013). There is indeed an ongoing dynamics of social interaction and cultural change due to the process of globalization. However, the process of globalization, as a global force, has often been thought to dominate, colonize and threaten local politics, cultures and economies as a consequence of cross-cultural encounters; the process of globalization is both unilateral and unidirectional. Indeed, the global structures (especially transnational corporations) have been considered to gradually converge and homogenize the world while threatening to destroy and erase differences between local cultures around the globe (Ritzer, 1995, 2000). These significant aspects of globalization have been well documented by Ritzer (1995, 2000) and Kumaravadivelu (2008), arguing that, due to the dominance of Western cultural, political and economic power in the global context, the process of globalization is related to the process of cultural imperialism: "Westernization," "Americanization" and "McDonaldization."

However, in recent years, academic scholars have recognized the fact that, contrary to the homogenization thesis, the process of globalization has a great potential for divergence and heterogenization due to the complex and dynamic interplay between the global and the local. Indeed, the process of globalization is far more complex and dynamic than previously assumed; a notion captured in Robertson’s (1994, 1995) concept of "glocalization." Two regimes, the global and the local, become intimately interconnected and intertwined, both mutually

influencing, interacting and negotiating their boundaries, co-producing and creating distinctive glocal cultures (Khondker, 2005). In other words, the global and the local are interdependent and relational, or, in Mazzarella's (2005, p. 17) words, the "global is constructed locally just as the local is constructed globally." From this perspective, the intersection of the global and the local paradoxically produces heterogeneity and unique outcomes as the global influence provides a variety of localized meanings based on the specific local context, its local particularities, cultures and identities.

2.1.1 The Concept of Glocalization

In the late 1980s, Japanese economists first used the term 'glocalization,' which comes from the Japanese word *dochakuka*, to describe a strategy for marketing products, notably by Sony, in various local contexts (Iwabuchi, 2002). "The Japanese ideographs 'do,' 'chaku' and 'ka' mean respectively 'land,' 'arrive' and 'process of' in English" (Luigi & Simona, 2010, p. 150). Based on this Japanese word, sociologist Roland Robertson (1994, 1995) introduced and advanced the idea of 'glocalization' as a theoretical concept in the social sciences to describe the process of 'global localization' or 'indigenization' (in contrast to 'global standardization'), the heterogenizing aspects of globalization. He further argued that terms such as homogenization and heterogenization, convergence and divergence, and universalism and particularism are "mutually implicative" and "co-present" in the process of globalization (Robertson, 1995, p. 27). Consequently, glocalization is a specific type of globalization that is receptive to differences within and between areas of the globe (Robertson, 2001). Robertson (1995) used the term glocalization, in general, for 'global localization' in order to explicate "the simultaneity and the interpretation of what are conventionally called the global and local" (p. 30), and in particular to

describe the strategy of micromarketing, "the tailoring and advertising of goods and services on a global or near-global basis to an increasingly differentiated local and particular market" (p. 28).

Correspondingly, various scholars have further defined the concept of glocalization. To date, Friedman (1999) defined glocalization as "the ability of a culture, when it encounters other strong cultures, to absorb influences that naturally fit into and can enrich the culture, to resist those things that are truly alien, and to compartmentalize those things that, while different, can nevertheless be enjoyed and celebrated as different" (p. 236; as cited in Luigi & Simona, 2010, p. 150). Pacione (2005) described glocalization as "the process by which developments in particular places are the outcomes of both global and local forces" (p. 670). According to Kaidy (2001, 2002), glocalization refers to a new cultural hybrid and change of norms and practices aimed at adjusting to local mindsets. Matthews (2013) further considered glocalization as "the process of adapting global products or services to suit local practices or cultural expectations" (p. 55) while taking locally related issues into account and adapting them to local conditions and circumstances. In short, glocalization refers to the dynamic interplay of the global and the local, resulting in a mix of both cultural homogenization and heterogenization (Andrews & Ritzer, 2007).

Khondker (2005) argues that globalization and glocalization should be considered "an interdependent process" (p. 186). He illustrates that while the concept of globalization "led to a rethinking macro–macro relationships," glocalization helps "to alleviate the conceptual difficulties of macro–micro relationships" and illustrates that "many of the social categories and practices assume a local flavour or character despite the fact that these products were invented elsewhere" (Khondker, 2005, pp. 184-185). In this respect, the concept of glocalization describes a twin process of macro-localization and micro-globalization. While macro-localization involves

expanding the boundaries of locality as well as making some local ideas, practices and institutions global, micro-globalization involves incorporating certain global processes into the local setting (Khondker, 2005, p. 186). Moreover, Khondker points out that ‘glocalization’ conceptualizes something other than just a hybridization or synthesis of the macro- and micro-level, and that it illustrates globalization as something more than ‘westernization.’

On the other hand, Ritzer, who insisted that the process of globalization stresses universalizing and homogenizing tendencies in the 1990s, recently refined his perspective by admitting that "the interpenetration of the global and the local" may result "in unique outcomes in different geographic areas" (Ritzer, 2003, p. 193). Ritzer (2003) specifically indicated that, while globalization stresses the universalism of transnational corporations worldwide, glocalization stresses particularism of a global idea, product, or service. However, he further argues that the notion of glocalization needs a supplement to fully capture the current phenomenon of globalization and introduces the term 'grobalization' to fill that role. By indicating that the concept of grobalization is "a much-needed companion to the notion of glocalization," Ritzer (2003) defined grobalization as "the imperialistic ambitions of nations, corporations, organizations, and other entities and their desire—indeed, their need—to impose themselves on various geographic areas. Their main interest is in seeing their power, influence, and (in some cases) profits grow (hence the term ‘‘grobalization’’) throughout the world" (p. 194). While Hoogenboom, Bannick and Trommel (2010) point out that Ritzer's (2003) idea of grobalization is still in line with his early theory of Americanization, MacDonalization and capitalism, his idea embraces and reflects the importance of taking the local context into account in the process of globalization.

In short, the core concept of glocalization recognizes the fact that the local is not a static

and passive receiver of the global influence but rather an active agent and participant in the process of world making. The global-local dialectic provides a useful perspective in viewing a social world that "rejects the view of the local and the global as being entirely distinct, separable spheres of social organization and action" (Torkington, 2012, p. 72), and points up the degree to which the process of globalization, in practice, is mediated not only by the global but also by the local (Sinclair & Wilken, 2009). To make the process of glocalization meaningful, Khondker (2005) indicates that it must include "at least one component that addresses the local culture, system of values and practices and so on" (p. 191).

2.1.2 Glocalization in Practice: Think Globally, Act Locally

In practice, the concept of glocalization has been generally embraced in the business world. It has been mainly adopted by international business corporations in developing marketing strategies that better create harmony and balance between the demands of the global and the local, and between the demands of standardization and localization. Previous literature has shown that global brands such as Marlboro, McDonalds, Burger King, Coca-Cola, Disneyland and Starbucks are using the glocal strategy, referring to the idea of 'Thinking globally, acting Locally' for their marketing campaigns (Matthews, 2013; Sinclair & Wilken, 2009; Thompson & Arsel, 2004). Here the main intention for using a glocal marketing strategy is "to fill the gap between local culture preference and the globalization of marketing activities," and try "to re-establish the connection between global brands and different cultures" (Luigi & Simona, 2010, p. 154). It has been argued that successful corporations must develop a glocal strategy by utilizing their global experiences and then customizing and tailoring their services and products in such a way that would appeal to local markets (Luigi & Simona, 2010). Glocal strategies are based on

the belief that local consumers may demand both global and local brands, "brands that make them feel part of a broader international community, but also brands that root them in their home culture, respect and represent their tastes" (Luigi & Simona, 2010, p. 155). In this respect, in order to make the glocal strategy successful, one should always significantly take local demographics, market dynamics, history and culture as well as consumers' different life experiences and belief system into account in the process of marketing and development (Matthews, 2013).

2.1.3 Glocalization as a Framework for Cultural Studies

In contemporary society, hardly any sites or cultures can be considered as "isolated or unconnected from the global processes" (Khondker, 2005, p. 186). Given that cultures are neither static nor fixed but rather fluid and flexible, they involve the dynamic process of meaning-making from the interactions of their members, and accordingly are in an ever-changing state (Bruner, 2005; Street, 1993; Wade, 1999). Cultures and traditions are never static but rather are "the unstable outcomes of the interactions between a variety of forces that act upon them" (Teo & Li, 2003, pp. 288-289). Indeed, "cultures thrive [and evolve] in part because of the connections they forge with one another" (Kumaravadivelu, 2008, p. 12), which also implies that cultural globalization is a two-way process where cultures interact between the global and the local, simultaneously shaping and reshaping each others' boundaries. Sørensen (2003) specifically indicates that "culture, rather than fixed structures of unification and subsumption, is conceived of as negotiable, manipulable, and changeable systems" and adds that, as a consequence, "the individual is ascribed an active role, as someone who produces culture rather than just representing it" (p. 855). In short, culture is not necessarily fixed but changeable and

contested, in process in differing contexts and varying situations. From this perspective, the dynamic nature of culture is caused by dynamic interactions among various cultural identities, both from the global and the local (Tong & Cheung, 2011).

In general, culture is the body of knowledge that "consists of the systems of mental constructions people use to interpret and respond to themselves and the world around them." It evolves, locally, regionally and globally "through a process in which people actively create and change culture through social interaction" (Handwerker, 2001, pp. 17-18). According to Zheng (1996), culture is defined in domains of lifestyles, institutional systems and spiritual values, and is mainly described in two senses: 1) in a broad sense, it refers to all substances including materialistic things, institutional systems and spiritual values created and commonly accepted by a certain group of people; and 2) in a narrow sense, it refers mainly to spiritual values and behaviors which can be acquired through learning and are commonly possessed by a certain group of people (see Tong & Cheung, 2011, pp. 57-58).

On the other hand, Appadurai (1996) classified two cultural forms, hard and soft, that enhance our understanding of the sequential consequence of global/local interactions and the tension between cultural homogenization and cultural heterogenization in the process of cultural globalization. While hard and soft cultural forms are both inherently linked with values, meaning and practices, Appadurai (1996) defines soft cultural forms as lifestyle choices such as food, clothing and housing which are not strongly linked with specific values. Hard cultural forms are institutional systems such as legal and political systems, as well as spiritual values (i.e., philosophies, religions and moral standards) which have strong links with specific and relatively less flexible values that are very difficult to change. Here, hard and soft cultural forms were suggested as comparative concepts, and most cultural forms are to a certain extent linked to some

form of cultural values. He further argues that lifestyles of a specific culture normally evolve around certain institutional structures like political and legal systems, and the root support of these systems are the spiritual values of the culture. By introducing two cultural forms, Appadurai (1996) suggests that the process of globalization would not easily transform hard cultural forms, compared to soft cultural forms, because of their strong connections with local values, meaning and practices.

Although Appadurai argues that hard cultural forms are more difficult to be globalized, Tong and Cheung (2011) suggest "if the values are really good to the people, they can still be glocalized" (p. 59). They argue that changes in soft cultural forms such as lifestyles may lead to modification of hard cultural forms like institutional systems and spiritual values, and that any change of spiritual values will also modify institutional values and lifestyles. Indeed, cultural change is an interactive process, and changes of any cultural form in one domain may lead to alternations of other cultural forms in all domains (Tong & Cheung, 2011, p. 67).

In this respect, culture is a discursive construction between the global and the local that prompts a level of modification and alternation of cultural forms in order to make them suitable in the present local context. Indeed, cultural forms are continuously being negotiated, challenged, manipulated, altered and reshaped, as well as being created and recreated through the global/local interaction. The complex interaction of the global and the local also means that "there is rarely anything purely local, but rather, all is 'glocal,'" and this interaction cannot be separated from "power relations, social setting, political context, and cultural paradigm" (Yifeng, 2009, pp. 91-92). Indeed, "glocalization is neither a unilateral nor predetermined process, but rather an outcome of negotiation or contest among a wide variety of agents" (Cho, 2009, p. 321). In short, the process of cultural negotiation is required in the process of cultural globalization and

glocalization. Lui and Stack (2009) argue that the consequences of cultural globalization can be categorized into homogenization, harmony, resistance and discord, and that people do not accept foreign cultural forms blindly; instead they localize them to suit their needs. Accordingly, local members appropriate the meanings of the global influence to their own ends, creatively adding new layers of cultural meaning, dropping incompatible ones, and negotiating and transforming others to suit their local cultural and lifestyle patterns (Hannerz, 1996).

Accordingly, while globalization connects the world with a tendency towards sameness, localization multiplies cultures with a firm emphasis on difference. Tomlinson (1999) argues: "The fact that individual actions are intimately connected with large structural-institutional features of the social world via reflexivity means globalization is not a 'one-way' process of the determination of events by massive global structures, but involves at least the possibility of local intervention in global processes" (p. 26; as cited in Yifeng, 2009, p. 93). Moreover, to some extent, the process of glocalization allows people to identify more strongly with their local culture within the global context (Maynard & Tian, 2004). Glocalization is tantamount to re-localization, whereby the practice is to integrate local elements into global themes, products, or services (Archer, 2008; Lee, 2003). Glocalization emphasizes that the relocation of a theme, product, or service has a greater chance of success when it is accommodated to the local culture into which it is introduced (Appadurai, 1996; Robertson, 2001). The fundamental thesis behind glocalization is that imposing our home values on other cultures does not always bear fruit. For Friedman (2005), in order to uphold cultural survival, local cultures must forfeit some of their economic imperialism to global processes so that they can achieve economic success by Western standards. Yet, to remain "local," local cultures must simultaneously maintain their local ways of life while undergoing globalizing processes.

Successful localization allows individualism and a certain degree of autonomy without losing indigenous identity. Rather than destroying a local culture, exterior cultures provide opportunities for its growth. In this ever-changing interconnected age, local practices are driven by local interests, but interaction with global elements can create a hybridized cultural product. In an era of rapid globalization, the inevitable trend is that local culture is re-situated in the global context by engaging in cross-cultural negotiations in a dialectic way (Yifeng, 2009, p. 94). It is thus becoming important to address and adopt local knowledge, concerns, issues and problems as a means of cultural dialogue in the process of glocalization, and to explore the dialectic relationships between global influences and local life.

In this respect, Listerborn (2013) emphasizes the importance of understanding local people’s everyday life, their physical experience and their dialectic interactions of socially produced scales. Based on the theoretical ideas of Lefebvre's 'production of space,' which is extended into the 'production of scale,' Nielsen and Simonsen (2003) argue that research on globalization and glocalization has largely focused on a process of ongoing 'scaling from above,' mainly attending to the economic aspects from a macro perspective and thus highlighting the importance of considering 'scaling from below' "with a focus on relational scale sequences, beginning with the body, home, community, urban, region, nation, and ending with the global" (as cited in Listerborn, 2013, p. 294). In a similar vein, Andrews and Ritzer (2007), by using the term 'glocalization from above' and 'glocalization from below,' argue that the two terms are not intended to function as opposites but that their use highlights the complexity of glocalization procedures and also the inseparable nature of the global and the local.

2.1.4 Glocalization in Cultural Tourism Research

The concept of glocalization has been applied in various fields such as geography (Brenner, 1998; Harvey, 1989), urban research (Pacione, 2005), gender studies (Listerborn, 2013), as well as tourism research (Salazar, 2005, 2006; Teo & Li, 2003). In particular, as tourism is a significant phenomenon in contemporary society that increases the opportunity for contact between members of diverse cultural groups, O'Reilly (2006) argues "Tourism may seem a fatuous or even indulgent manifestation of the new global order, which might partly explain why it is often derided even by those who purport to study it. Yet its significance lies in its unique position to shed light on multiple facets of the globalization process simultaneously, economic, political, and cultural" (O'Reilly, 2006, p. 1000). Moreover, tourism consists of "a global process of commodification and consumption involving flows of people, capital, images, and cultures" (Meethan, 2001, p. 4; as cited in O'Reilly, 2006, p. 1000).

Tourism studies have emphasized the various effects that a global industry of tourism can have on local culture due to economic, political and social acculturation. With tourism as a cultural glocalization project, Sheller and Urry (2004) suggest that places are performed through the embodied play of the tourist, while being "constantly made and re-made by the interaction of tourism-based mobilities and the 'performances' that are played out both locally and, simultaneously, on the global stage" (p. 4; as cited in Torkington, 2012, p. 72). This aspect of tourism comes in line with the argument that cultural identity "is not given or static, but rather experienced as a dynamic and time-dependent outcome of an ongoing creative process. It is a process of reflexive communication among the subject, the world, and people around him or her" (Elsrud, 2001, pp. 599-600). Indeed, cultural norms and values are continuously negotiated, challenged, manipulated and upheld or altered through the ongoing process of global/local

interaction: interaction between the global tourist and the local. Moreover, this process "inevitably impacts on social practices, relations, identities and meanings" (Torkington, 2012, p. 72).

From this perspective of cultural glocalization in tourism settings, Salazar (2005, 2006) explored how global discourses of cultural representations are locally (re)produced, negotiated and transformed by local tour guides in the context of Yogyakarta, Indonesia (2005) and Arusha, Tanzania tourism (2006). By doing the ethnographic fieldwork of participant observations and in-depth interviews, he argues that local guides "do not blindly copy the learned canons but use their agency to position themselves strategically on the 'us' vs. 'them' continuum which is so prevalent in all tourist imaginaries" (Salazar, 2006, p. 848). This further enables them to "participate in the complex construction of glocalized knowledge, cultures, and meanings" (Salazar, 2006, p. 848). Here, global representations and imaginaries of the local are creatively mediated, (re)shaped, (re)constructed and reinvented through guiding narratives and practices of the local, in order to meet the diverse demands and expectations of the global tourist.

Similarly, from a case study of Haw Par Villa in Singapore, Teo and Li (2003) argue that cultural globalization is a process that is influenced not only by the 'outside' but also from the 'inside' within the local context. As a "dialectical process" between the internal (local) and external (global), they demonstrate that "globalization is mediated by local agencies and locally constituted relationships—in particular, cultural tradition, power relationships which are played out at a specific location, and the emotional ties of people to places" (p. 302). They suggest that both scales of universalism and particularism need to be conjoined in order to better understand the role of tourism in producing unique outcomes for local particularities, cultures and identities in an increasingly globalized world.

In sum, glocalization is an amalgam of global influence and local adaptation that may have different outcomes from place to place. The concept of glocalization implies that no single approach is right in all instances. In other words, a 'one-size-fits-all' approach as a grand solution cannot exist since the characteristics of global/local interaction may vary by heavily depending on the specific local context. Specifically, Ulrich and Smallwood (2006) suggest that glocalization can be successful only when adaptation to global influence is successful. They argue that adaptation requires flexibility and tolerance, even the promotion of differences, and that real adaptation requires executives to generate diversity vis-a-vis local conditions (Ulrich & Smallwood, 2006). Moreover, cultures and their meaning-making processes are being shaped and reshaped by dynamic cultural intersections between the global and the local, and they are being continuously articulated over time.

2.2 The Nature of Heritage

Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) argue that the meanings of the past, history, and heritage should be distinguished: while the past is "what has happened," history is "selective attempts to describe [the past]," and heritage is "a contemporary product shaped from history" (p. 20). In this respect, history and heritage share similar characteristics in that both are selective representations of the past, but which have certain limitations in representing the past as a whole. Harvey (2001) indicates that "the narration and practice of both history and heritage involve the subjective interpretation of selective material and issues" (pp. 328-329). However, the meaning of history and heritage should not be considered as the same. According to Lowenthal (2003), the distinction between history and heritage is vital: "History explores and explains pasts grown ever more opaque over time; heritage clarifies pasts so as to infuse them with present purposes" (p.

xiii). Here, the "past" is pluralized because everybody can have different interpretations from their own perspectives in viewing the certain past. Although both history and heritage contain subjectivity in interpreting the past, history mainly relies on rational or objective proof based on scientific evidence, while heritage relies more on subjective faith and belief: "in feeling that it must be right" (Lowenthal, 2003, p. 2). Similarly, Holtorf (2010) indicates that "Heritage is often less valued for its literal than for its metaphorical context, that is, stories about the past that are much more so stories about the present. As a consequence, it matters little for the story-telling potential if a heritage site has been meticulously repaired, faithfully restored, or entirely reconstructed—as long as it gives believable total impression" (p. 50; as cited in Silverman & Blumenfield, 2013, p. 19).

Just as the cultural and traditional[2] values, beliefs, and their meanings continuously change over time depending on the political, economic and social context, heritage is a social construction that reflects the needs of the present. According to Smith (2006), heritage is "a social process concerned with the creation and maintenance of certain social and cultural values" (p. 42). Moreover, Ashworth, Graham and Tunbridge (2007) indicate that "the contents, interpretations and representations of the heritage resource are selected according to the demands of the present and, in turn, bequeathed to an imagined future" (as cited in Graham & Howard, 2008, p. 2). Indeed, heritage is constructed on the basis of “very selective past material artifacts, natural landscapes, mythologies, memories and traditions [that] become cultural, political and economic resources for the present” (Graham & Howard, 2008, p. 2). And, since historical

[2] The words 'tradition' and 'traditional' are used as a contrary concept to 'contemporary' or 'modern' (Rapoport, 2005). Anything that is transmitted or handed down over time can become a tradition, and "the fundamental attribute of any tradition is its involvement with people, since only people transmit traditions" (Rapoport, 1989; as cited in Zhao, 2015, p. 50). Tradition is subject to change in the process of transmission, and also can be invented for the purpose of the present (Hobsbawm, 1983; see Zhao, 2015, pp. 49-55).

records are incomplete, and not all heritage is valued by society, "what is desirable to keep are selections from the past" (Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 2). In this regard, "Heritage in its many forms and practices in not just a representation of the past; it is also a connection or a reconnection with the past that is active and alive in the present" (Waterson, Watson, & Silverman, 2017, p. 8)

As a consequence, the nature of heritage is not fixed but should rather be understood as a social process that is flexible because it reflects the present-centered perspective. Indeed, heritage is a "social construct shaped by the political, economic and social concerns of the present" (Graham & Howard, 2008, p. 2). Specifically, Harvey (2001) indicates that "concepts of heritage have always developed and changed according to the contemporary societal context of transforming power relationships and emerging nascent national (and other) identities. . . heritage is a present-centred cultural practice and an instrument of cultural power" (pp. 335-336). In the authors' point of view, heritage is defined as a cultural production that represents and reflects identity, power, and authority.

In this respect, however, critical concerns regarding the issue of power and legitimacy in defining heritage emerge during the process of making heritage: who's interpretation of the past and needs of the present are being represented? how and by whom is the past shaped, recognized, and represented in general? who has the right and power to decide what to remember (select) or to forget (ignore)? These issues of power and legitimacy in defining heritage become important since the values and meanings attached to people's pasts can differ from one another depending on each one's interpretation. Smith (2006), by introducing the notion of 'Authorized Heritage Discourse (AHD),' argues that underlying preconceptions of heritage discourse basically contain the dynamics of "the relative power and authority," and possess an "overt political nature" (p. 38).

She illustrates that heritage is largely defined by the privileged few experts and elite social classes who have the power and legitimacy to judge and decide what is valuable to preserve and what is not. AHD is dominated by groups with access to expert knowledge. These groups include archaeologists, historians, architects, museum curators, state agencies, policymakers and others whose cultural and professional values promote the conversation of heritage (Waterton, Smith, & Campbell, 2006). In general, UNESCO and ICOMOS[3] may be understood as authorizing institutions of heritage, "as they define what heritage is, how and why it is significant, and how it should be managed and used" (Smith, 2006, p. 87). Moreover, ideas about heritage have been determined mainly from Western perspective of what's valuable to preserve, and heritage preservation continues to represent the conservative view of the Western (especially European) elite (Jokilehto, 2006). As a consequence, preservation efforts came to be dominated by those with institutional access to heritage resources. Smith and Waterton (2009a) argue that the AHD is operated from a position of power in order to sustain the privileged positions of a range of experts while marginalizing the interests of others. Accordingly, some other people's (non-experts, minorities, and marginalized populations) voices are inevitably excluded from the process of making heritage, as the process of constructing heritage fundamentally involves social inclusion as well as exclusion.

For the nature of contested heritage, the UNESCO's notion of 'Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)' is further problematized since the issues of power and legitimacy remain in terms of who, can define and decide the significance of heritage as Outstanding Universal Value, how

[3] "The non-government organization ICOMOS [International Council on Monuments and Sites], based in Paris, is an international network of heritage and conservation practitioners and specialists concerned with the protection and conservation of historically important sites and places. It is, at both national and international levels, a highly successful and powerful lobby group, which influences the development of management and conservation polices and legal frameworks in many countries" (Smith, 2006, p. 88).

do they decide, and to what extent? UNESCO indicates that "To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria" (see **Table 2-1**).

Table 2-1. The criteria for selection of World Heritage Sites

Human creative genius i. to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
Interchange of values ii. to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
Testimony to cultural tradition iii. to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
Significance in human history iv. to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
Traditional human settlement v. to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
Heritage associated with events of universal significance vi. to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
Natural phenomena or beauty vii. to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
Major stages of Earth's history viii. to be outstanding examples representing major stages of Earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic of physiographic features;
Significant ecological and biological processes ix. to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
Significant natural habitat for biodiversity x. to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

Heritage is inherently contested in that it involves conflicts and tensions among various stakeholders, each of whom has different interpretations of the past. According to Harrison

(2010), "Heritage itself is a dynamic process, which involves competition over whose version of the past ... [is being represented] in the present" (p. 8). In this respect, Bruner (2005) suggests being "cautious about monolithic interpretations that are static and ahistorical, that homogenize meaning, and to be careful about assuming that the official version of the site is accepted by all parties, as if reception were identical with production" (p. 12). Due to these competing perspectives, dissonance is inherent in heritage, as it often involves discord, a lack of agreement and consistency, discrepancy, and incongruity (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Chhabra, 2012; Santos & Zobler, 2012). Dearborn and Stallmeyer (2010), in their case study of Luang Prabang in Laos, use the term 'inconvenient heritage' to describe the ongoing process of erasure and transformation of the landscape and built environment and its embedded intangible heritage, both "from memory and from space" (p. 30). The critical issues brought up in their research were how to interpret and represent heritage, and who has the power and authority to decide and control what to erase, maintain, or augment in the process of constructing and managing heritage. Consequently, the issue of how to mitigate or negotiate conflict and dissonance between different stakeholders becomes a crucial part of the context of cultural heritage.

In short, the notion of heritage (both tangible and intangible) and its meaning is a social construction, and inherently involves conflicts and tensions among various stakeholders who each have a different interpretation of the past. However, in general, the process of constructing and negotiating heritage has largely been led by the Authorized Heritage Discourse (Smith, 2006), and it has been mainly determined by a privileged few who have the power to judge and decide what is valuable to preserve and what is not. Although heritage involves a variety of stakeholders who might have different interpretations and perceptions of certain cultural resources, these different perspectives have been largely overlooked and even neglected in the

decision-making process for heritage management. In this regard, it becomes important to gain a holistic and inclusive understanding of heritage by incorporating various stakeholders' perspectives and interpretations. Waterton, Watson and Silverman (2017) specifically suggest that heritage is "in action" which the understanding of heritage is becoming "more important than ever in differentiating national, official, and authorized versions of it from its more local, voluntaristic, mobile, and alternative forms" (p. 4). They further argue that:

> Communities of place, communities of identity, and communities of interest make this understanding of the past [which is subjective, emergent, and performative] relevant to people's lives in the present. This is not the heritage of the nation-state; it is not the heritage of the professional, the archaeologist, or the curator. Rather, it is the heritage that is made from whatever locally significant assets can be marshalled into some local landscape of meaning and shared among willing (and often eager) participants ... [There is a] pressing need for engagement between heritage theorists, heritage practitioners, and communities (p. 14).

2.2.1 Heritage and Identity

Heritage and identity are interlinked and interconnected concepts operating on multiple scales including familial, local, regional, ethnic, national, diasporic, and – according to UNESCO – universal. Indeed, heritage is fundamentally important for the construction of personal and collective identity. According to Waterton, Watson and Silverman (2017), "Heritage is produced and mobilized by individuals and communities in any number of actions, including remembering, forgetting, generating, adopting, and performing. Heritage shapes and reshapes people's sense of place, sense of belonging, and cultural identities locally and nationally" (p. 3). However, since heritage is often interpreted and understood differently by various stakeholders, each group and individual may see a different cultural identity. In fact, many cultural sensitivities surround the interpretation of heritage and identity.

Friedman (1994) refers to 'cultural identity' as 'ethnicity' by indicating that "If 'cultural

identity' is the generic concept, referring to the attribute of a set of qualities to a given population... It is not practiced but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. In a weaker sense this is expressed as heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each and every individual and distinctive precisely at the level of individual behavior" (pp. 29-30; as cited in Tong & Cheung, 2011, p. 58). According to Gegeo (2001), cultural identity is constituted by behaviors, characteristics, epistemologies and attitudes that are recognizable by others of one's cultural heritage, even when that identity is no longer constantly and consistently exercised (p. 501). Gegeo (2001) argues that those who are indigenous make claim to identity when they feel it to be central to who they are (p. 502). Indeed, cultural identity is "an arena for conscious choice, justification and representation" (Appadurai, 1996, p. 44).

In this respect, it is possible to say that cultural identities are situational and positional, and that people can have multiple identities, which are often contested. Indeed, the process of identity formation and change is ongoing and subject to numerous influences. Graham and Howard (2008) specifically suggest that when viewing heritage as the selected meaning of the past in the present, "the past in general, and its interpretation as history or heritage, confers social benefits as well as potential costs in the construction and reproduction of identities" (p. 5). The relationship between heritage and identity is not necessarily stable, but fluid, conditional and negotiable, as the relationship is always socially constructed rather than inherent.

Cultural heritage should be considered both in time and in space. The definition of cultural heritage is related not only to tangible expressions such as sites and objects, but also to intangible expressions such as language and oral tradition, social practices, rituals, festivals and performative events (Robinson & Picard, 2006). According to Timothy and Boyd (2003), heritage can be classified as "tangible immovable resources (e.g., buildings, rivers, natural areas);

tangible movable resources (e.g., objects in museums, documents in archives); or intangibles such as values, customs, ceremonies, lifestyles, [beliefs and rituals, traditional knowledge], and including experiences such as festivals, arts and cultural events" (p. 3).

In terms of tangible heritage, Bruner (2005), in his work on 'slavery and the return of the black diaspora,' explores how a diaspora creates new places of memory in which to express identity and heritage in the context of Elmina Castle, Ghana. Here, the locals (Ghanaians) and the tourists (African American, diaspora blacks) had different cultural identities connected to the tangible heritage of Elmina Castle. They also had different perspectives in understanding its meaning. Further, by exploring the power dynamics among various stakeholders (locals, tourists, local government, international organizations and travel agencies), Bruner (2005) reveals that each stakeholder expressed conflicting identities and different interpretations of the Castle, which made difficult to select the representative identity or image of the tangible heritage.

Bandyopadhyay, Morais and Chick (2008) examined the relationship between religion and identity in India's heritage tourism. By acknowledging that religious heritage sites in India are related to various religious identities including Hindu, Buddhist, Jainist, Sikh, Islam, and Christian, they examined the representation of these religious identities at heritage sites by the Indian government, the domestic tourism trade media, and the popular tourism media. Their findings suggest that while the Indian Government attempts to promote ethnic pluralism, the tourism representations promote the idea of a Hindu centric national identity while largely undermining other religious identities.

Park (2011) interpreted heritage as a symbolic embodiment of past, re-imagined and reconstructed in the collective memories and traditions of contemporary society. From this perspective she explored how the intangible heritage values and socio-psychological dimensions

of Changdeok Palace, a World Heritage Site in South Korea, contribute to redefining and re-evaluating the role of North Korea in the formation of South Korean national identity. Based on ethnographic fieldwork, she suggests that heritage tourism experiences "play a sustained role in reconstituting and recontextualising (South) Korean national identities as part of the process of maintaining cultural continuity despite territorial re-alignment and ideological conflict [between South and North Korea]" (p. 536).

González (2008) examined the relationship between intangible heritage tourism and personal identity in the global environment. By exploring how Japanese tourists experience flamenco culture in Spain, he shows that existential heritage tourists are able to participate in the original spirit of intangible heritage, and suggests that intangible heritage can be "transported" to other countries without losing its authenticity (p. 808). Here, cultural identity embedded in flamenco culture was expressed and experienced through the embodied performance of the tourist. Indeed, in the context of cultural heritage tourism, semiotic experience and embodied performance plays a vital role in creating a sense of identity.

Heritage, both tangible and intangible, becomes "a cultural tool that nations, societies, communities and individuals use to facilitate self, identity and belonging" (Smith & Waterton, 2009b, p. 293). Heritage and identity are constructed through material objects, built environment and the relationships with which we imbue them, and how we deploy them socially. Indeed, culture and built environment are strongly connected because the built environment and its design are considered to be an outcome or expression of culture, the ideas and way of life of the people, that satisfy the needs and demands of a specific cultural group (Rapoport, 2005). Specifically, Harrison (2010) argues that heritage is constituted both by 'places of heritage' and 'practices of heritage.' He indicates "For every object of tangible heritage there is also an

intangible heritage that 'wraps' around it—the language we use to describe it, for example, or its place in social practice or religion. Objects [or places] of heritage are embedded in an experience created by various kinds of users and the people who attempt to manage this experience" (p. 10). In practice, since heritage and identity are expressed through both built environment (tangible heritage) and embodied performance (intangible heritage), and since they require a certain level of negotiation among stakeholders over their interpretation and representation (Dearborn & Stallmeyer, 2010), the importance and challenge of heritage practice lie in how to equitably mitigate the contentious interplay of heritage and identity.

Despite the different dimensions and aspects of tangible and intangible heritage, it has been argued that the two concepts cannot be considered separately. In particular, Smith and Waterton (2009b) insist that all heritage is intangible: "the creation of a dichotomy between different 'types' of heritage is exclusive in its own way. As such, we argue that heritage cannot be defined by its materiality or non-materiality, but rather by what is done with it. Thus, whether we are dealing with historic houses, industrial sites and archaeological ruins, or traditional dance and the retelling of oral histories and storylines, we are dealing with the same thing: and what we are dealing with—what heritage is—is the performance and negotiation of identity, values and a sense of place" (pp. 291-292). Indeed, Park (2011) indicates that heritage is not only a fundamental attribute of culture but an essential form of symbolic embodiment through which people can construct, reconstruct and communicate their sense of cultural identity and belonging. She emphasizes the importance of recognizing the fact that "intangible values of tangible heritage are of profound significance in broadening the values and meanings of both intangible and tangible heritage" (p. 521).

In addition, according to Appadurai (1996), identity is a complex set of relationships that

is constructed through bodily practices and which can take "its full meaning only in a proper context" (p. 756). Indeed, cultural identity is constructed with both material objects and intangible practices, which are largely attached to and expressed in places, landscapes and the built environment of a specific cultural context. In this regard, the built environment and its cultural values, traditions and the meanings embedded in that context largely constitute the notion of heritage and its interconnected personal, regional and national identity.

In sum, heritage and identity are projects that are always in the act of production and being, and they are dynamic and contentious domains of social life. Because of this, it is essential to understand what heritage and identity mean among stakeholders, how they are performed, displayed and controlled and by whom, as well as how they intersect at the local, national and global level.

2.2.2 Heritage and Authenticity

The complex nature of "authenticity" is another matter that is deeply related to the notion of heritage. Authenticity has been a central issue in heritage as well as in tourism literature. Evaluating authenticity is a complex matter because of the vagueness of the concept and the cultural assumptions embedded in it (Alberts & Hazen, 2010). The *2008 Operational Guidelines* define authenticity in fairly broad terms but suggest that cultural values must be "truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes" in order to maintain authenticity (WHC, 2008, p. 182). These attributes include tangible (form, design, materials, settings) as well as intangible (function, tradition, spirit) notions of authenticity. As described in the *Management Guidelines*, "Generally speaking, authenticity is ascribed to a heritage discourse that is materially *original* or *genuine* as it was constructed and as it has aged and weathered in time. With regard to an historic

monument or site conceived as a work of art, being 'authentic' can be understood in relation to the creative process that produced it as a genuine product of its time, and include the effects of its passage through historic time" (Feilden & Jokilehto, 1998, p. 17; italics in the original). In a similar vein, in tourism literature, scholars such as MacCannell (1973) and Boorstin (1964) consider "authenticity" as original, and as an objective concept which divides the pre-modern (authentic) from the modern (inauthentic). From their perspectives, the concept of authenticity is perceived as a fixed and "museum-linked" notion (Wang, 1999, p. 353). Conventionally, the authenticity of certain cultural resources has been mainly evaluated through their tangible and objective value from the perspective of the Western value system.

On the other hand, however, the World Heritage program also accepts that different cultures interpret the concept of authenticity in different ways. This notion of authenticity is reflected in *Nara Document on Authenticity* (1994 Nara Conference). It recognizes that "the authenticity of a site is rooted in specific socio-cultural contexts, corresponds to specific values and can only be understood and judged within those specific contexts and according to these values" (Labadi, 2010, p. 78). The document states "Cultural heritage diversity exists in time and space, and demands respect for other cultures and all aspects of their belief systems" (WHC, 2008, annex 4, p. 16). Authenticity of cultural heritage must, therefore, be judged within its own cultural context. In a similar vein, Bruner (1994) contends "No longer is authenticity a property inherent in an object, forever fixed in time; it is seen as a struggle, a social process, in which competing interests argue for their own interpretation of history" (p. 408). Olsen (2002) also contends that the notion of authenticity is "no longer seen as a quality of the object but as a cultural value constantly created and reinvented in social processes" (p. 163). In other words, the notions of both authenticity and heritage are social constructions that can change over time. In

fact, a certain object that has been perceived as authentic might turn out as inauthentic, and the opposite process can also be possible. Further, in terms of tourism, Cohen (1988) suggests that experiencing authenticity is a matter of one's "own view," and that "tourists will differ in the number and kinds of traits necessary to their mind to authenticate a cultural product" (p. 378). He points out that even what is generally perceived as a contrived or inauthentic object might become generally recognized as authentic in the course of time. He termed this concept of authenticity as "emergent authenticity" (Cohen, 1988, pp. 379-380). In addition, Jamal and Hill (2004) suggest that the dimensions of 'time' and 'space' should also be considered when determining what is authentic or not. Since the notion of authenticity heavily relies on how certain objects are situated in a specific context, they emphasize the importance of understanding how characteristics of cultural objects, sites and places are embedded within sociopolitical, interactive, and interconnected relationships between object, place, time and person.

Wang (1999) indicates that "authenticity involves a range of different meanings" (p. 354). Hence, to define what is "authentic" or not is quite difficult and confusing because the "term grows ambiguous from varied usages and contexts" (Wang, 1999, p. 350). In this respect, Wang (1999) tried to differentiate the meaning of authenticity by suggesting three conceptual clarifications: objective authenticity, constructive authenticity, and existential authenticity. To illustrate, 'objective authenticity' reflects the perspective of MacCannell (1973) and Boorstin (1964) who perceive authenticity as a fixed and museum-linked notion. 'Constructive authenticity' is related with 'symbolic authenticity,' which is something that can emerge as "the result of social construction" (p. 356). This can be considered as a relative and negotiable concept of authenticity. Lastly, 'existential authenticity' is an ontological concept that is mainly determined by personal or inter-subjective sense or feeling. Wang (1999) describes this concept

as "a special existential state of being in which individuals are true to themselves" (p. 356). In fact, what can be considered as authentic to some tourists might not be considered as authentic to others at the same time, whether it is objectively authentic or not. Steiner and Reisinger (2006) contend that when inauthentic experience is personalized, such experience can turn out authentic because the notion of existential authenticity is a self-judgment (free to define in one's own way of interpretation). In other words, the notion of existential authenticity is a matter of how people interpret the outside world from their own perspectives. Further, Zhu (2012) introduces the notion of "performative authenticity" as "an additional supplement to the existing discourse on authenticity" (p. 1510). She indicated that "the process of becoming authentic or inauthentic also depends on personal memory, the constructed identity and the complexity of the contemporary by participating in the ritual performance as embodied practice" (p. 1510).

In sum, the concept of authenticity is not easy to define since it involves different meanings to different people in different places. From this perspective, those individuals protecting and managing sites, as well as visitors to those sites, actually play a crucial role in creating authenticity (Porter, 2000). This brings certain problems associated with enforcing common standards in deciding what is and what is not considered authentic, but it also offers flexibility in taking the characteristics of each individual site into consideration when making preservation decisions.

2.3 Tourism Development and Heritage Tourism

According to the World Tourism Organization (WTO, 2005), the number of international passenger arrivals has increased exponentially from 25 million in 1950 to 846 million in 2006, and it is estimated to reach over 1.56 billion by the year 2020. For those international travelers,

WTO has recognized that heritage and culture have become significant components in attracting almost 40 per cent of them (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). In fact, heritage tourism is "one of the largest, most pervasive, and fastest growing sectors of the tourism industry today" (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009, p. 3). The World Tourism Organization (WTO) defines heritage tourism as "an immersion in the natural history, human heritage, arts, philosophy and institutions of another region or country" (as cited in Timothy & Boyd, 2003, p. 1). In most cases, cultural tourists visit heritage places to enhance learning, satisfy curiosity and feelings of nostalgia, grow spiritually, or to discover themselves and construct personal or collective identity (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

Today, more than 1,000 sites have earned World Heritage Site (WHS) designation, and it is estimated that 25 to 30 sites are added to the list annually (Fyall & Rakic, 2006). While the main reason for a call to designate a site is to safeguard, protect or conserve the significance of the cultural site, it is also considered an 'effective brand' to increase its recognition, attract more international tourists, and to promote cultural tourism on the global level (Buckely, 2004; Poria, Reichel, & Cohen, 2011; Yang, Lin, & Han, 2010). Specifically, Li, Wu, and Cai (2008) indicate that "Being designated a World Heritage Site is a coveted prize, and regarded as a means of increasing tourism" (p. 308). Since culture and heritage are closely connected as part of the cultural landscapes of the past and present, the terms 'cultural tourism' and 'heritage tourism' are almost interchangeable in their usage (Timothy & Boyd, 2003). Both terms typically rely on living and built elements of culture and refer to the use of the tangible and intangible past as a tourism resource (Timothy & Nyaupane, 2009).

In general, cultural tourism is considered a peaceful tool that helps to create our world with harmony by celebrating cultural diversity and respecting the value of one's own as well as others' rich historical, cultural heritages, traditions and environments. In fact, cultural tourism

provides a great opportunity for people to understand different cultures worldwide. It helps to enhance and broaden one's own perspective in viewing the world through cultural exchange, through learning and experiencing cultures different from one's own. On the other hand, since tourists tend to travel to experience the unique and distinctive cultures of others, their interest and curiosity in the local's culture and environment may encourage local cultural pride and self-respect. In this respect, locals may make more effort to preserve and promote the uniqueness of their culture, bringing cultural revitalization, including the revival of religious ceremonies, art forms, and craft production (Harron & Weiler, 1992).

However, the consequences of cultural tourism are not always positive. This is mainly because cultural tourism has turned out to be an industry that largely focuses on the economic effects more than its cultural, social and environmental impacts. Indeed, tourism as a means to modernization, significantly transforms one's culture and heritage into "a tourist product and profit-making capital" (Meskell, 2005, p. 131; as cited in Silverman, 2011, p. 21). As a matter of fact, significant efforts are being made by local elites and capitalists to gain more economic benefits from tourism. Thus, the central focus of tourism development has become how to meet tourists' demands and how to satisfy their expectations rather than respect and value of the local culture and its context. Moreover, since tourists often possess much more economic and social power than the locals especially in less-developed countries, locals are frequently forced to meet the demands of tourists as servants. In other words, tourists' (guests') demands and their voices are largely located at the center of developing cultural tourism rather than the locals' (hosts') voices. As a consequence, distinctive cultures are being staged and commodified (by external factors) to attract more tourists (mass tourism) and to gain more monetary benefits. In a similar vein, the dominant discourse surrounding tourism development has mainly adopted the top-down

approach that emphasizes "economic and spatial dimensions of tourism development and the implementation of large scale and highly standardized production procedures in selected spaces" (Robinson & Picard, 2006, p. 27). One of the main problems of this approach is that it neglects to take the local, deeply embedded, context (historical, social, cultural, and political) into account. This approach often functions as an external force that marginalizes the locals and that commits cultural violence against them. These aspects of tourism development in less-developed countries will, ultimately, have a negative impact on their pure (or original) and distinctive culture and environment.

Based on these concerns, I will overview the possible impacts (both negative and positive in terms of economic, cultural, and environmental impacts) of tourism development. It might be unrealistic to separate the impacts into two categories (negative and positive) since the outcomes of tourism development are complex and mixed depending on the dynamics of the local context. Despite this concern, I believe that this illustration could be important and enlightening for understanding the side effects of tourism development. Further, I will discuss the possible ways to minimize or mitigate the negative impacts of tourism development, and to find a better way of development that can be sustainable in the long run. Before discussing the possible impacts of tourism development, however, I believe it beneficial to begin with an overview of the power relationship between host and guest in the tourism context.

2.3.1 The Power Relationship between Host and Guest

The Power of the Tourist Gaze

In his book '*The tourist gaze*,' Urry (2002) focuses on the importance of visual "difference" in tourism phenomenon and contends that a tourist's motivation is to see and experience the

difference between home (normal place of work) and away (tourist destination). He suggests that this difference is distinguished through the tourist gaze, and thus argues that tourism activity is visual consumption: "It is the gaze that orders and regulates the relationship between the various sensuous experiences while away, identifying what is visually out-of-ordinary, what are the relevant differences and what is 'other'" (Urry, 2002, p. 145).

Urry claims that "sight has long been regarded as the noblest of the senses" in the history of Western societies, and that the eye is "viewed as the most discriminating and reliable of the sensual mediators between humans and their physical environment" (Jay, 1986, p. 178; as cited in Urry, 1992, p. 174). He adds that, although it is true that other senses, such as touch-scapes, taste-scapes, sound-scapes and smell-scapes are also important in shaping the tourist experience, such "experiences are only of importance to the tourist because they are located within a distinctive visual environment" (Urry, 1992, p. 172). Further, Urry (1992) suggests that tourist "attraction" should be understood as a system that involves three main elements: "tourists themselves, the nucleus or central sight, and various markers" (p. 185). Here, he indicates that the "eye is central" within this system and describes the visual sense as a central organizing sense among other senses (dominance of visualism). In a similar vein, Craik (1997) explains the importance of the eye: "The eye became as important as the ear as the source of knowledge and the object of social training. Knowledge was acquired through seeing, verifying and ordering the world. Observation, witness and hearsay were techniques of the eye and became the new form of travel - sightseeing" (pp. 127-131).

On the other hand, it would be important to note that Urry's notion of the tourist gaze inherently possesses the "power," inasmuch as his concept of the gaze was elaborated from Foucault's (1967, 1976, 1979) works related to the dark side of the omnipotent gaze (or

ocularcentrism). Based on Foucault's (1967) work, *Madness and Civilization*, where Foucault discusses how madness became an object to be gazed upon spectacularly, Urry (1992, p. 177) argues that native people, especially in Third World countries, are seen by the tourist as mad according to their cultural differences. In addition, Foucault's works, *The Birth of the Clinic* (1976) and *Discipline and Punish* (1979), illustrate the uneven power relationship between 'doctor and patient' as well as between 'guard and prisoners,' where power is exercised predominantly through the eye of the gazer. In the clinic, the eye of the doctor is the eye that knows, decides, and governs the patient's body with power. In the panopticon (prison of Bentham's model, 'pan' means 'all', and 'opticon' means 'seeing'), the eye of the guard is the all-seeing-eye that disciplines and normalizes the prisoners (Urry, 1992, pp. 175-176). Here, the doctor and the guard are described as "gazers," and patient and prisoners as "gazees" who are under the gaze of the gazer. The gazer possesses a dominant power in regulating the gazee's attitude and behavior.

When interpreting from a critical perspective, Urry's notion of the tourist gaze can be characterized as a unilateral gaze toward the local. The fact that Urry adopted and applied the notion of Foucault's omnipotent gaze to the tourism field would mean that the tourist gaze inherently reflects an uneven power relationship with the local:

> In tourism it is possible to see the processes of interiorization as implied by the panopticon. Those living in tourist "honeypots" may believe that they are always about to be gazed upon, even if they are not. They may therefore feel "under the gaze," even if no tourist is actually about to capture them in his or her mind's eye, let alone in the viewfinder. So they may not venture out or may only do so in ways appropriate for the gaze, even if no tourist is actually present. There is thus the interiorization of the gaze, a universal visibility that exists to serve a meticulous, rigorous power, as Foucault argued about institutions of incarceration (Urry, 1992, pp. 177-178).[4]

[4] Related to the notion of 'the interiorization of the gaze,' Taiaiake (2009), a Kahnawake Mohawk scholar, uses the

Urry (1992) notes that the power of the tourist gaze can be repressive and can have adverse effects on the local culture and environment. The tourist gaze indicates that this unequal power relationship between the tourist and the locals is carried to the furthest extreme in much of Third World tourism. In fact, in Third World countries, locals are often gazed upon by tourists and considered as "mad behind the bars" who "have to dress, dance, and generally conform to the visitor's ill-informed stereotype" (Smith, 1978; as cited in Urry, 1992, p. 177). Moreover, for this power inequality, he contends that the local tries to resist and get away from the all-seeing eye of the tourist. As the locals strategize to resist confronting the undesired tourist gaze, Urry (1992) argues that the tourist destination "gradually comes to construct back stages in a contrived and artificial manner" (p. 177). This structural consequence corresponds to MacCannell's (1973) notion of "staged authenticity."[5]

The Tourist Gaze and its Impacts on the Local

For the dominant perspective of the tourist gaze, the locals and their image are often shaped around certain expectations and representations of the tourist, which are largely a false reality (Deloria, 2004). Harkin (2003) argues that American Indian traditional culture has been mainly defined by the touristic practices and pre-constructed stereotypes of indigenous people. He

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term "internalized oppression," which is "The internalizing process begins when Native American people internalize the oppressor [the dominant Western discourse], which is merely a caricature of the power actually taken from Native American people" (p. 59).

[5] MacCannell (1973) describes the tourist as a 'pilgrim' who seeks authenticity. However, he indicates that most of the tourists fail to achieve their goal as a pilgrim according to the structural consequence of the tourism settings. He explains this structural consequence from Goffman's (1959) front-back dichotomy and suggests that the authenticity in tourist settings are staged in the front religion (staged authenticity: inauthentic space create for tourist settings), which makes difficult for tourists to distinguish whether or not they are having an authentic experience.

criticizes the fact that local communities in Indian Reservations are continuously absent from the process of their own image making. Indeed, the way American Indians are portrayed and represented has always been largely controlled and managed by the practice of Euro-American tourists. This has further led Aboriginal people and their cultural traditions to be shaped around these misrepresentations and stereotyped images, usually of lazy and uncivilized people.

Albers and James (1983), by examining photography and tourism, explored how the rise of the tourism industry for economic development (commodity-oriented tourism) had changed and transformed the photographic image of the Great Lakes Indians from a "real lived-in experience" to "the status of myths" (p. 135). They argued that images of indigenous people were mainly constructed from the tourist's "way of seeing" (Berger, 1972, p. 9; as cited in Albers & James, 1983, p. 125), and accordingly, the tourists' photographic images evoked a false reality and reinforced and advanced a stereotyped image of the Indian. Their images were ahistorical, fetishized, exotic, fantastical, mythical and inauthentic. As a result, Indians and their culture became "subject to the meanings and manipulations of alien interests—those of tourists searching for sentimental and vicarious links with the symbolic Indian (e.g., the noble warrior or the child of nature) and those of entrepreneurs looking for ways to capitalize on the public's fantasy of the Indian" (p. 144).

In a similar vein, by analyzing the images of Hawai'i and Hawaiians shown in the Hawai'i's elementary textbooks, Kaomea (2000) argues that the images in the textbooks mainly consist of colonial and gendered representations, "expanding the visibility of racial, ethnic, and sexual Others" (p. 340). In fact, most of the images portrayed in the textbook were photos of the Hawaiian hula girl, which reinforces the "stereotypical depictions of Native Hawaiians" (p. 324). This aspect of gendered representation corresponds with Craik's (1997) argument that the notion

of Urry's 'tourist gaze' is generally a male's view; a patriarchal gaze. That is, as female locals are exposed passively to the tourist gaze, the scene of the tourist destination becomes feminized from the tourists' perspective (Craik, 1997, p. 130). Pritchard and Morgan (2000) argue that tourism promotion is constructed mainly from a male point of view and suggest that the tourist gaze is privileged to the male rather than to the female. In this regard, Kaomea (2000) argues that colonialism is not over, and that the colonial dynamics are an ongoing struggle that "have existed and continue to exist" in contemporary society (p. 341).

The Mutual Gaze

The colonial gaze of the tourist, which involves a dominant power over the local, largely shapes the locals' images, representations, and their way of being. Maoz (2006), from a critical perspective, argues that the tourist gaze involves "the power and authority Western tourists hold and exercise over the inhabitants of the places they visit...The gaze, which has the potential to discipline and normalize the local's behavior" (p. 222). This destructive aspect of the unilateral gaze of the tourist continuously functions as an ongoing violence to indigenous people and to their cultural heritage, history and tradition by making misrepresentations and false images as well as romanticizing the living reality.

However, it would be important to realize and to be aware of the fact that the tourist gaze and the gaze of the local always coexist at the same time. In fact, the gaze is not a privilege only for tourist, but rather it should be considered as a complex interaction between the host and the guest, and should rather be considered in a broader context of social, cultural and historical structure. In other words, the power relations in contemporary society are not neutral and unilateral, nor dominant, but rather should be considered distributive and as vectors.

In this respect, Maoz (2006) points out that Urry's (1992) notion of the tourist gaze is somewhat limited, since it only consider the one-sided gaze of tourist without considering the other: the local's gaze. In this respect, Maoz (2006) suggests the notion of "the mutual gaze":

> All the others, and especially the locals in Third World countries, are influenced by this power and are objects to the gaze. By contrast, the local gaze is based on a more complex, two-sided picture, where both the tourist and local gazes exist, affecting and feeding each other, resulting in what is termed "the mutual gaze" (p. 222).

Foucault (1976) noted that where there is a power there is a resistance. The tourist's and the local's gaze simultaneously influence each other's behavior by creating a mutual interaction. Maoz (2006) contends that "the mutual gaze makes both sides seem like puppets on a string, since it regulates their behavior," and suggests that "there are no defined "dominators" and "dominated," as both groups simultaneously undergo and exercise power" (p. 225). In other words, the gaze is not "a one-way phenomenon," but rather "a result of both visual spectacle and mental discernment" (Chhabra, 2010, p. 17). In this respect, tourism "should be understood generally as a discourse among tourists, locals, intermediaries (including government ministries, travel agents and tourism promotion boards), and the physical spaces themselves in which tourism takes place" (Knudsen, Soper, & Metro-Roland, 2007, p. 231).

Indeed, there is no one, monolithic knowledge or truth that can be universalized or generalized (Hokowhitu, 2010). The variety of interpretations and perspectives are based on each individual’s own way of knowing and subjectivity. In fact, compared to the Western framework of knowing and doing things, Indigenous people have completely different values and belief systems and different approaches to power and knowledge production (Taiaiake, 2009). However, due to the dominant discourse of colonialism, Taiaiake (2009) argues "the materialistic

mainstream value system has blinded us to the subtle beauty of indigenous systems founded on a profound respect for balance" (p. 68). In order to confront the coercive Western value system, he emphasizes the importance of establishing and restoring traditional philosophy and teachings (i.e., respect, balance, harmonious coexistence, relationship to the land, interdependency, consensus decision-making, contentiousness).

These traditional values and beliefs are thought to be essential and will ultimately bring back inherent power for self-determination to the local people and make them able "to take wisdom from our own tradition and apply it to contemporary challenges in innovative ways, to develop self-reliance and autonomy" (Taiaiake, 2009, p. 169). To do so in a tourism context, it is important to challenge, disrupt, confront and dismantle the pre-existing uneven power relations and knowledge between the tourist guest and the local host.

2.3.2 Tourism Development and its Impacts: Positive and Negative

Positive Impacts

One of the important outcomes of tourism development in general, and cultural heritage tourism development in particular, is economic because it brings foreign exchange and increases employment opportunities. From these economic benefits, locals can reduce poverty, enhance their standard of living and improve their economic position (van den Berge, 1992). Accordingly, the tourism industry is mainly perceived as a powerful tool for economic growth, especially in locations where resources and alternatives for economic growth are greatly limited.

While tourism is an important component of economic development, its role also "extend[s] beyond this as integral parts of human development whereby social well being and basic human freedoms and rights are exemplified and enriched by travel and cultural exchange"

(Robinson & Picard, 2006, p. 15). Cultural tourism development is also considered a peaceful tool that helps to create our world to be a place of harmony because it celebrates cultural diversity and respects rich historical cultural traditions and environments. In this respect, cultural tourism development is recognized as a powerful tool for countries, especially those with unfavorable reputations in the global context, that enables them to construct and represent a positive, national identity and image by emphasizing their own cultural distinctiveness and uniqueness. Since tourists tend to travel to experience the unique and distinctive cultures of others, tourism development not only brings economic gains but could also preserve, maintain and develop the local's culture, heritage and history (MacCannell, 1973; Esman, 1984).

Applying Foucault's (1976, 1979) notion of power in tourism context, the power of the tourist can provide productive and positive outcomes rather than being repressive and negative. The tourists' interest and curiosity in the culture of a site also encourage the locals to have pride and self-respect, and, accordingly, locals make more efforts to preserve and promote the uniqueness of their culture and heritage. Consequently, cultural tourism development can bring cultural revitalization, including the revival of religious ceremonies, art forms, and craft production (Harron & Weiler, 1992). Specifically, Cohen (1988) argues that:

> One has to bear in mind that commoditization often hits a culture not when it is flourishing, but when it is actually already in decline, owing to the impingement of outside forces preceding tourism. Under such circumstances, the emergence of a tourism market frequently facilitates the preservation of a cultural tradition which would otherwise perish. It enables its bearers to maintain a meaningful local or ethnic identity which they might otherwise have lost (p. 382).

In this respect, cultural tourism development can help to enhance the locals' own cultural values and further, prompt them to invent new forms of culture (Hobsbawm, 1983). Hobsbawn (1983) suggests that locals might invent new forms of culture to attract more tourists: 'invention

of tradition' (Hobsbawm, 1983). Moreover, pseudo events or cultural products which, in certain periods of time, are perceived as contrived, inauthentic, and staged might generally be recognized as authentic by gaining their own history as time goes by (Cohen, 1988, p. 379). Greenwood (1982) indicates that "all viable cultures are in the process of 'making themselves up' all the time" (p. 27). Accordingly, "cultural traditions are often reinterpreted and even revived rather than destroyed" through the development process of tourism (van den Berghe, 1992, pp. 235-236).

In a similar vein, Roosens (1989) claims that cultural tourism can produce an important opportunity to construct and project the locals' positive image. Yang and Wall (2009) also contend that from tourism development "self awareness may be promoted among local people, reinforcing and strengthening local identity through pride in local culture" (p. 561). In this aspect, tourism may help the locals to construct their ethnic or cultural identity and can be a "vehicle of self-representation" (Cohen, 1988, p. 383). For example, Cole (2007) indicates that local villagers in eastern Indonesia perceive that tourism brings a sense of pride and identity. Medina (2003) also observed that heritage tourism in the village of San Jose Succotz, Belize has positive impacts for constructing Mayan identity. She suggests that as tourists began to show interest in Mayan culture with positive values attached, a number of Succotzenos expressed their willingness and desire to learn Mayan heritage and traditions.

Tourism also impacts the local environment. Vehbi and Doratli (2010) point out that "the income from tourism often makes it possible to preserve and restore historic buildings and monuments" (p. 1487). The increase in the number of tourists may encourage development and improvement of basic infrastructures, such as transportation, road construction and maintenance, telecommunication facilities, and the provision of water and electricity in peak seasons (Goymen,

2000). Similarly, Baysan (2001) indicates that tourism development possesses great potential to enhance public spaces by protecting and upgrading places with significant value such as national parks and historical sites.

Negative Impacts

Despite the positive impacts of tourism development, negative impacts are also possible. And these negative possibilities appear most significant in less-developed countries for their limited and marginalized status in the global context. Because host countries often focus on gaining immediate economic benefits, they tend to promote mass tourism development in order to generate foreign currency quickly. Indeed, "culture is now primarily being promoted for economic, rather than cultural ends" (Richards, 1996, p. 27; as cited in Waterton, Watson & Silverman, 2017, p. 6). As a consequence, the dominant discourses on tourism development frequently adopt a top-down model of development (i.e., national and regional tourism development master plans). Robinson and Picard (2006) indicate that these top-down development plans, in less developed countries, were "commonly elaborated in cooperation with major international organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank with an emphasis upon economic and spatial dimensions of tourism development and the implementation of large scale and highly standardised production procedures in selected spaces" (p. 27). These general characteristics of mass tourism development are known to have great potential for bringing negative rather than positive impacts when viewed from a long-term perspective. This is because top-down development led by international organizations largely neglects the deeply embedded local context (historical, social, cultural, and political context).

In addition, the unequal power relationship between the tourists and the locals is another

important factor that has negative influences on the locals' everyday lives. For example, natives, especially in Third World countries, are frequently gazed upon by tourists as "mad behind the bars" who "have to dress, dance, and generally conform to the visitor's ill-informed stereotype" (Smith, 1978; as cited in Urry, 1992, p. 177). The performance of the locals is turned into a show for the tourists (Greenwood, 1977), and locals "become a 'living spectacle' to be observed, photographed, and interacted with" (Yang & Wall, 2009, p. 560). As a consequence, local heritage sites often become theme parks of a commodity package of culture and identity produced mainly for tourist consumption (Medina, 2003; Teo & Yeoh, 1997). Specifically, Davis (1999) indicates that the local culture and heritage, the folk songs, dances and costumes, are continuously modified and staged to suit the ever-changing commercial needs of the tourist.

Turner and Ash (1976) studied the characteristics of the tourist and identified the mass tourist as "the new Golden Horde" and described them as "barbarians" (p. 129). The authors consider the tourist as one who threatens and destroys unique destinations all over the world. In fact, the mass of tourists are often considered as wealthy people who only pursue their own fantasies and pleasure without respecting others' culture or environment. According to Boorstin (1964), the tourist is a "superficial nitwit" or "nerd," who only seeks pleasure. In his point of view, tourists are viewed as "superficial fools satisfied with the spurious" (Cohen, 1988, p. 379), who mainly cause negative impacts on the local's culture and heritage.

Since the impact of tourism is closely related to "the economic and social differences between the visitors and the majority of the hosts" (Urry, 2002, p. 52), tourists, who often possess relatively more economic and social power than the local, force the local to adjust and adapt themselves to meet the demands of the tourist. Maoz (2006) argues that "Tourists...hold and exercise most of the power in their relationship with the locals. To resist this power and

manage it, the locals may invent techniques and strategies, mainly staging, but they remain mostly on the defensive side- the side which has to adjust itself, sell itself, hide and protect itself (p. 235). van den Berghe (1992) points out that "many locals feel that their privacy is invaded, they are frequently stared at and photographed against their will, they are shocked by the demeanor or dress of their unwanted guests" (p. 235). Moreover, since the locals "remain in a position inferior to that of an overwhelmingly dominant majority population" (Yang & Wall, 2009, p. 560), they might interpret their culture as subordinate and have less respect for it.

These aspects of tourism may cause "the destruction of the local and regional landscape that very often initiated the tourism, and its replacement by conventional tourist architecture and synthetic landscapes and pseudo-places" (Relph, 1976, p. 93), and might produce "negative consequences such as the commodification of culture" (Cheong & Miller, 2000, p. 372). Cohen (1988) indicates that "such processes of commoditization of culture for touristic purposes are doubtlessly quite common all over the Third World...rituals, ceremonies, costumes, and folk arts may all be subjected to commoditization" (p. 381). Cole (2007) suggests that this "cultural commodification is frequently regarded negatively, as an objectification by 'the West' of a cultural other" (p. 946). Similarly, Oakes (1992) insists "development which has the power to dilute unique and authentic traditions with standardized stereotypes tailored to the exotic yearning of the Western traveler" (p. 3). Specifically, Echtner and Prasad (2003) contend that the Third World tourism marketing (e.g., Costa Rica, Ecuador, Jamaica, Cuba, Egypt, Kenya, and Namibia, etc.) is structured and represented in a First World perspective. By using postcolonial theory, the authors indicate that these countries are portrayed as 'unchanged,' 'unrestrained,' and 'uncivilized,' which reinforces the colonial binaries or dichotomies from the First World, which is advanced, civilized, and controlled. They contend that tourism in modern Western society has

significant impacts in maintaining geopolitical and cultural power structures in the global context.

Taylor (2001) claims that when culture becomes an object of tourism its authenticity and value will be reduced. Local culture and heritage become "staged" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 595) and represents "superficiality" or inauthenticity. "Commoditization is said to destroy the authenticity of local cultural product and human relations" (Cohen, 1988, p. 372), and often results "in the "bastardization" and "pollution" of previously authentic ethnic cultures for the purpose of touristic display" (Wood, 1997; Yang & Wall, 2009, p. 560). In their research of Maori culture, Ryan and Crotts (1997) argue "tourist commodification undermines minority cultures through simplifying and packaging cultures into '30-minute' entertainments and cheap souvenirs" (p. 900). Local cultures and heritage then become simple products for tourists' entertainment and superficial consumption. This kind of cultural commodification in the process of tourism development based around World Heritage status has been frequently reported in the previous studies (Halewood & Hannam, 2001; Pendlebury, Short, & While, 2009).

Moreover, Yang and Wall (2009) state "host groups develop 'phony-folk-cultures' to meet tourists' desire to experience cultural otherness, which leads to the loss of original meanings and the cultural significance of traditions" (p. 560). They also insist that "commercialized shows can result in the loss of authenticity and cultural value and can jeopardize ethnic images" (p. 566). For example, in their research on one of the tourist attractions in Kenya (Mayers Ranch), Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) indicate that the traditional dances and cultural heritage performances of the rituals and customs of the Maasai are skillfully staged, commercialized, and contrived to attract more tourists, and to generate more economic gains from them. Maasai's engagement in the tourist industry was mainly to earn money for their living rather than to maintain their traditions with respect. Eventually the culture will lose its meaning for the locals.

Greenwood (1977) contends "the ritual has become a performance for money. The meaning is gone" (p. 135).

> We already know from worldwide experience that local culture... is altered and often destroyed by the treatment of it as a touristic attraction. It is made meaningless to the people who once believed in it... (Greenwood, 1977, p. 131; as cited in Cohen, 1988, p. 372).

Moreover, cultural meaninglessness will also lead to a sense of placelessness. Relph (1976) indicates that mass culture and tourism contributes to the geography of "placelessness," and this "reflects upon the loss of diversity, significance, and meaning of landscapes" (Torres & Momsen, 2005, p. 322); "a space without history, identity, or any possibility of being appropriated by social groups" (Hiernaux-Nicolas, 1999, p. 131). For example, Torres and Momsen (2005), in their research in Cancun, Mexico, claim that Cancun turned out to represent the "Disneyesque quality of spectacle" as well as "the invasion and expropriation of Mexican space by an American place" (p. 314). Cancun turned out to be a space without history, culture, or identity, simply a place for mass consumption by Western tourists.

In addition, another problem that brings negative impacts on host countries is the fact that most tourists demand the comfort, convenience and familiarity of their home place. Accordingly, tourist destinations are becoming "characteristic of shops, bars, hotels, restaurants and so on" (Franklin, 2001, p. 120). Hence, tourism development might lead to a similar development process and might also interrupt or even destroy the unique local culture. Moreover, the influences of global merchandise are significant in local economic context. With the entrance of global chains (hotels, restaurants, airlines, etc.), the economic gains from tourism development often leak out to other countries. This unequal distribution of the economic benefit of tourism development keeps locals in their marginalized position.

Tourists previously described as "the new Golden Horde" or "barbarian" (Turner & Ash, 1976) cause crucial damage to the physical environment as well. The physical environment contains both the natural and the built environment: "the natural environment includes the climate and weather, the landscape and its topography, water features and the ecological systems. The built environment comprises physical features that include primarily all types of buildings, infrastructural development as well as archeological and historical sites" (Inskeep, 1991; as cited in Vehbi & Doratli, 2010, p. 1485). The negative impacts of tourism on the physical environment include increased sewage waste, water, seawater, air and litter pollution (Altinay & Kashif, 2005). In fact, "tourism activities affect the natural environment in various ways, and some forms of tourism can have extremely detrimental effect on ecologically sensitive areas, resulting in habitat degeneration or destruction" (Vehbi & Doratli, 2010, p. 1486). Nepal (2000) indicates that in the Mt Everest National Park "the most evident impacts in the park are accumulation of garbage and deforestation" (p. 666). Nepal claims that the increasing number of tourists and their crowding in certain locations in the park poses a major challenge to the local environment, such as accumulation of beer bottles, soil erosion, increasing demand of firewood and timber, trail damage, and alteration of traditional agricultural practices.

In fact, tourism industry produces large quantities of waste products. Tourism service facilities (e.g., hotels, restaurants) and tourist themselves produce a large amount of garbage annually. Moreover, this problem seems clearer in less-developed countries, since they may have "less sophisticated solid waste management and technologies" (Vehbi & Doratli, 2010, p. 1486) and have "a lack of monitoring and management strategies, and a lack of local institutions and government policies" (Nepal, 2000, p. 666).

2.3.3 A Way Forward: Sustainable Tourism Development

As discussed above, tourism development in general, and heritage tourism development in particular can have various impacts on the host society. On one hand, tourism development might function as a powerful tool for economic growth, cultural revitalization, and to construct a positive national identity and image. Moreover, tourism development can have a positive impact on the natural environment since it contributes to protect and upgrade the valued places to attract more tourists to visit. On the other hand, however, tourism might harm and destroy the culture and environment. Negative consequences could result from unequal power relationships between stakeholders in the process of making decisions for tourism development; for the commoditization of culture that changes and spoils the original meanings of the culture without respecting it; and for the increasing amount of waste, garbage and noise produced by tourists and tourist service facilities.

It is important to note that the negative impacts of tourism development largely originate from the top-down approach to tourism development. This type of tourism development is often criticized for "its spatial and social segregation between tourists and local populations," its short term approach to development (i.e., most employment is generated in the construction stage), and its "lack of community participation/decision-making and engagement" (Robinson & Picard, 2006, p. 27). Then, how might the positive impacts of tourism development be maximized, while preventing and minimizing the negative? How can we plan sustainable tourism development? One possible strategy would to encourage stakeholder collaboration while regulating mass tourism at the national and regional level and promoting ecotourism.

Stakeholder Collaboration

According to the complex and multi-faceted consequences of tourism development, it is important to take all stakeholders into consideration while planning, developing, and managing certain heritage resources. Freeman (1984) defines a stakeholder as "any group or individual who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organization's objectives" (p. 46; as cited in Wilson, Richards, & MacDonnell, 2008, p. 201). An important initial stage of collaboration for heritage management is to identify and legitimize the stakeholders, each of whom might have a different perspective or interpretation of the resource and may impact its management process. In other words, it is vital when managing a heritage resource to identify, recognize, and involve all stakeholders in the process of making heritage, and to make their voices actively heard and valued in decisions about how the site is represented and managed. Moreover, stakeholder collaboration is important for finding ways to appropriately distribute the tangible benefits of the development process. According to the *UNESCO Nairobi Recommendation on the Participation by People at Large in Cultural Life and Their Contribution to It* (1976), "participation by the greatest number of people ... [is] essential to the development of the basic human values and dignity of the individual [and] access by the people at large can be assured only if social and economic conditions are created that will enable them not only to enjoy the benefits of culture, but also to take an active part in overall cultural life and in the process of cultural development" (as cited in Waterton, Watson, & Silverman, 2017, p. 8).

Nicholas, Thapa, and Ko (2009) indicate that "the most commonly cited stakeholders [in tourism development] include: Local Communities, Tourists, Government/ Public Sector, and Industry/Private Sector" (p. 393). Timur and Getz (2008) propose three main stakeholders involved in heritage tourism development collaboration: the private sector, public sector, and the

local residents. Similarly, Porter and Salazar (2005) identify stakeholders in heritage tourism development as guests, hosts, development agencies, and local communities. Moreover, Timur and Getz (2008) state that "power and legitimacy are the core attributes of a stakeholder identification typology" (p. 446) and emphasize the importance of considering the distribution of power between stakeholders. While power enables stakeholders to impose their will on a relationship, legitimacy reflects the extent to which stakeholders are seen by others as having a justified claim on power or resources (Larson & Wikstrom, 2001; as cited in Wilson, Richards, & MacDonnell, 2008, p. 201).

Aas, Ladkin, and Fletcher (2005) indicate that involving the recognized parties is only the initial stage of collaboration, since these parties must be willing to cooperate in the process. The role of power is identified in this willingness within the different groups and needs to be addressed to best manage the collaboration. Within these groups, power plays a key role as each stakeholder has differing priorities and expectations for potential resource management plans.

Evans (2005) suggests the need for collaboration between all stakeholders in heritage management. He acknowledges the need of those displaced and disempowered to be included, and without them the site could become void of the heritage itself. Without the appropriate involvement of these important participants, the potential is much greater for conflict and complications within the management plan. For collaboration to be successful, all identified stakeholders need to be considered, and failure to do so could negatively influence the outcome of a project (Jamal & Stronza, 2009). Specifically, in terms of heritage tourism development, Jamal and Stronza (2009) claim "A stakeholder theory of collaboration in protected area destinations should, therefore, integrate the relationship between public/private sector organizations, the natural area destination and those who inhabit it, as well as others who have a

"stake" in it" (p. 174). In a similar vein, Turnpenny (2004) suggests that, in order to manage and preserve the wider cultural heritage, it is essential to conduct "a more inclusive and reactive 'joined-up' approach" (p. 303). Moreover, Rao (2010) argues that, in the current system of site designation for the World Heritage List, there is room for more cooperation between stakeholders "who may possess the requisite technical knowledge and expertise, including local communities and civil society" (p. 168). This demonstrates the demand for greater effort towards collaboration at the international policy level, specifically with the designation of World Heritage Sites (WHS).

It is important to note that there has been a paradigm shift in the management of heritage properties. Recently, scholars based in various disciplines (anthropology, sociology, tourism, etc) have begun to critically rethink the role of cultural tourism in order to find better ways to take the local context into account at the center (i.e., a bottom-up, grassroots approach). Moreover, a significant amount of literature focuses on the locals' perception of tourism and how they are affected by it, as well as how locals see the tourist (as opposed to the traditional interest in how tourists see the locals).

Millar (2006) describes this shift a 'sea change' in the process of enlisting WHS, as the concept of stakeholders expands to include host communities in the planning and development of their resources. Along with the efforts to understand the post-effects of WHS designation on local communities, Millar (2006) further proposes a case study of the stakeholder collaboration in the planning and development of a region in preparing for World Heritage listing.

Visitor Management: Control and Regulation

One possible way to minimize the potential negative impacts of tourism development and to make it sustainable would be to control and regulate the tourism industry at the national or local

government level (Drost, 1996). Bhutan is a good example for this kind of regulation at the national level. In 1974 the government of Bhutan adopted "a policy of 'high-value, low-volume' tourism in order to control the type and quantity of tourism right from the start" (Mclntyre, 2011, p. 15). This principle of tourism in Bhutan was developed to maximize the economic benefits through foreign exchange while minimizing the potentially adverse cultural and environmental impacts of tourism. These objectives and concerns are reflected in its tourism policy that imposes a "US$200 per person per day tariff (including a US$65 royalty charged by the government plus food, accommodation, local transport and guides)" (Mclntyre, 2011, pp. 15-16).

Another example is Indonesia. The government changed its visa laws in 2004 to now require Western tourists to pay a fee of US$25 upon entry for stays of less than 30 days in duration. This regulation was enacted to minimize the negative impacts of mass tourism, to "postulate a period of slow growth," and to appropriately manage and control tourism at the national level (Clifton & Benson, 2006, pp. 240-241).

In addition to the national level regulation, charging higher entrance fees to the tourist than the local, limiting the annual or seasonal number of tourists, and giving incentives, for example, to mountain tourists for returning their waste and trash to the base camp, can be considered as other possible strategies to mitigate the adverse effects of tourism development at the local level.

To achieve the goal of sustainable development, creative regulations must be adopted to control tourism development and mitigate its adverse effects without sacrificing its benefits while enabling future generations the opportunities to benefit from their heritage (Drost, 1996). The development of continuous monitoring and sustainable planning programs for heritage sites will help to encourage compliance with the regulations. Moreover, Drost (1996) suggests that

planning programs should include a description of a buffer zone as a way to effectively protect the site as well as the surrounding area from incompatible development.

Ecotourism

One of the most commonly cited alternatives to mass tourism is ecotourism. Ecotourism is an effort to minimize the adverse effects and concerns of mass tourism. It is a model of 'bottom-up' development that is "generally based on a grassroots approach with the participation of local community and stakeholders in the planning process" (Robinson & Picard, 2006, p. 27). Ecotourism can also be variously referred to as sustainable, green or soft tourism. Ecotourism aims to share economic gains with local communities while preserving the local culture, heritage and traditions that are sensitive to the external influences of tourism. These purposes are considered similar to those of community-based tourism because they "seek to achieve sustainable development, so that communities can improve their living conditions without disappearing and without irreversibly damaging the environment" (Ruiz-Ballesteros, 2011, p. 657). Participatory development, small-scale development, and education are considered to be a core component of sustainable tourism development practices. Here, I will illustrate the basic ideas as well as certain limitations of each of three approaches.

1) Participatory development (development from below, bottom-up approach)

Many scholars in the tourism field have suggested a participatory approach. By involving all stakeholders in tourism development at the grass-roots level in collaboration, the negative effects of tourism, such as cultural change and environmental destruction, can be mitigated. Moreover, by receiving and reflecting the local voices in the process of tourism development and

management, locals can be empowered and can be motivated and simulated to preserve and manage their own culture and environment in a positive way.

Although the participatory approach is often considered to be an effective tool that can mitigate the negative impacts of tourism development, depending on the local context it could involve initial limitations. Since the participatory approach an aspect of democracy (which originates from Western society), it might be difficult to adopt and apply the idea in less-developed countries with a different paradigm, such as a constitutional monarchy (e.g., Nepal, Cambodia, Bhutan) or a socialist republic (e.g., Vietnam). The locals in such countries might not be familiar or feel uncomfortable participating in decision-making processes and, moreover, the participation opportunity might be regulated and limited by the unequal power relationships among stakeholders in the first place. In a similar vein, Blackstock (2005), from a critical perspective in community-based tourism (CBT), points out that the basic approach of CBT largely ignores "internal power struggles or competing values" and "external constraints to local control" (p. 40). In this respect, a participatory approach should be cautiously advocated.

2) Small-scale development

On the other hand, some researchers suggest small-scale development rather than large to minimize the negative impacts of tourism. Since large-scale development has more potential for adverse impacts on the locals and their environment, small-scale development based on the local community's own interest could mitigate the adverse possibilities. Moreover, small-scale development might be beneficial and recommended in certain contexts because it can make slow and stable changes in the economic, cultural, and environmental impacts.

However, since host communities often use the tourism industry to improve their

economic status, they would prefer more large-scale development despite the negative impacts. In fact, large-scale development has more potential for larger economic benefits than small-scale development. This issue of scale in tourism development is considered to be a "classic dilemma" (Nepal, 2000, p. 677), since the economic benefits and social/cultural impacts often conflict with each other. It is a complex and difficult task for tourism development to balance between the two in an ideal way.

3) Human development: Education

Another approach is to educate all the stakeholders involved in the process of tourism development. That is, all stakeholders need to be fully informed and aware about the possible adverse effects of tourism development. According to Drost (1996), educating stakeholders and raising their "awareness of the physical and sociocultural environment are fundamental to achieving sustainable development" (p. 482). This is mainly for the fact that tourism "should be understood generally as a discourse among tourists, locals, intermediaries (including government ministries, travel agents and tourism promotion boards), and the physical spaces themselves in which tourism takes place" (Knudsen, Soper, & Metro-Roland, 2007, p. 231). Although various stakeholders might be involved in the process, three main groups of stakeholders can be identified: tourists, locals, and the developer (including the government, entrepreneurs and middlemen such as brokers and guides).

First, tourists should be educated and encouraged to respect and value the culture and environment of the site, rather than to just seek convenience and pleasure during their trip. As discussed previously, most of the negative impacts of tourism come from the bad behavior of tourists not respecting the other's culture and heritage and seeing the local culture as inferior to

their own. Educating tourists to respect and value the other's traditions, culture, and environment would be an important and crucial factor in reducing the negative aspects of tourism. Tourists should be educated to be aware of behavior that can negatively impact the locals' culture and heritage, since the tourists often possess great power in relation to the locals in host countries. To do so, the role of the guide is important to inform the tourist of potential adverse effects on the local. Moreover, it would be helpful to develop certain rules or regulations to manage and control the tourists' behavior.

On the other hand, the locals should be encouraged to respect and preserve their own culture, traditions and environment. It is important to note that the positive outcomes of tourism can be fully realized only when locals have the central power to control and manage their own distinctive identities, images and representations related to their culture and heritage. In this respect, locals should be encouraged to make their own voices actively heard to protect and maintain their unique culture and environment. This may lead the locals to take more pride in their culture, to construct a positive cultural identity, and to develop self-confidence and commitment. To do so, other stakeholders must empower the locals in the process of tourism development. The locals should also understand the process of tourism development in order to have more opportunities to participate in the decision-making process and to make their own voice heard by the other stakeholders. I believe these efforts will help locals to develop their sense of belonging and attachment to their community and safeguard their cultural identity and distinctiveness as well as help them to gain cultural power and respect.

Moreover, the notion of property, which is the central value of capitalism, should be challenged and contested by the local people. As long as tourism functions solely as a tool for economic development, tourism will only increase the external dependency of the locals by

giving power to the outsiders. Rather, tourism should be effectively used as a tool to achieve autonomy and self-determination through highlighting the distinctive value of the locals' own culture and traditions and through bestowing their own cultural power with respect. In other words, tourism should be adopted and utilized as a tool to balance the power relations and to make an open space where the local culture, heritage and knowledge can be respected and appreciated. These efforts will ultimately bring balance by creating a space for harmonious coexistence between the tourist and the local. Further, when the local people possess a deeper sense of identity and self-respect at the individual level, I strongly believe that it will ultimately contribute positively to the society at large in the long run.

Lastly, developers (or WHS managers) should make efforts to find ways to achieve balance between development and preservation, as well as between conservation and visitor pressure. Moreover, their initial aim for development should mainly focus on providing circumstances where the tourist can experience the site within its proper context and appreciating the full extent of the cultural landscape in which it is contextualized. To do so, it is important to construct a development plan from a long-term perspective rather than just focusing on immediate benefits. In fact, cultural preservation should be considered as a priority for economic development, because if a culture is destroyed or contaminated, there will no longer be a tourist industry and thus no economic benefit. Planners must also be aware of the possibility that the cost to restore cultural and environmental damage might exceed the immediate benefits. Once destroyed, restoration will require extensive and money and may even be impossible. This could have negative influences on the developers as well as the locals in the long run.

To ensure the long-term sustainability of tourism development, all stakeholders should be educated in the different levels and from different perspectives as discussed above. Indeed, Yang

and Wall (2009) argue "future planning will require greater awareness and education of all stakeholders and the creation of forums for exchange of information and negotiation" (p. 568). I believe that these efforts will not only sustain tourism for the local context, but also for the entire worldwide tourism industry by maintaining and enhancing the diversity of cultural heritage and tourist attractions. Further, these efforts will enhance the possibilities to preserve and maintain cultural diversity, eventually making cultural tourism a more valuable and worthwhile thing to do.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Site

Naganeupseong in South Korea was submitted to the World Heritage Tentative List in 2011 in consideration of its 'Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)' (see **Table 3-1**) and is currently seeking WHS Listing designation by 2020. Naganeupseong is a Korean traditional historic folk village dating from the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Located in the southwest province of Korea (Nagan county[6]), its cultural landscape and traditional lifestyle are well preserved and maintained (see **Figure 3-1**). This traditional village is surrounded by natural landscapes (mountains), and includes various historical architectural components such as a fortress, government buildings, and private houses. The fortress was first built in 1397 to protect the village from Japanese invasion. The village functioned as an administrative and commercial hub that was based on the fortress built with stone, and the local government office and locals' private houses were built inside the fortress. Showing the typical landscape of an administrative town of Joseon, the village preserves its folklore culture and landscape in harmony with nature. On the other hand, the village is also a venue for the transmission of important intangible cultural heritage, including farmer's music (nongak), communal rituals, pansori epic chant, gayageum (12-string instrument) performance with songs, and seasonal customs and rites. In addition, the village is a living cultural heritage as a whole where the descendents of the Joseon Dynasty still reside. Currently, 288 people actually live in 150 households inside the village, maintaining their own traditional lifestyle.

[6] Nagan County is a rural area located in Suncheon City. In 2017, Nagan county has a population of 3,708 (1,759 households) while Suncheon City has a total population of 281,822 (110,133 households).

location of Naganeupseong

Site image

Fortress

Old government buildings

Private houses

Figure 3-1. Location of Naganeupseong and site images

The village is currently being managed by government agencies: the local government (Suncheon City) and the *Cultural Heritage Administration.* Since its designation as a national heritage site in 1983 (Historic Site No. 302), a series of projects for conserving the village landscape have been conducted with an aim to conserve the village overall in its original state. The houses of historic and academic significance were individually designated as national cultural property, and the major components of the town landscape such as the government office, the stele pavilion and the large ancient trees are under government protection too. The conservation management of Naganeupseong conforms to the Cultural Heritage Protection Act,

and there are several local laws and regulations that apply. Residents also run their own association for protecting the site.

Table 3-1. Statement of Naganeupseong's Outstanding Universal Value

Criteria iii: Testimony to cultural tradition The built environment of Naganeupseong (i.e., fortress, government buildings, and local houses) was created and developed during the Joseon Dynasty, and the whole village remains in its original condition until today. The village functioned as an administrative and commercial hub that was based on the stone fortress, and the local government office and people's houses were formed inside the fortress. Showing the typical landscape of an administrative town of Joseon, the village reveals its time-honored folklore culture and beautiful natural landscape.
Criteria iv: Significance in human history The architectural structures and natural elements of the village such as the fortress, government office buildings (tile-roofed), houses (thatch-roofed), the stele pavilion and large old trees prove the outstanding quality of artistic and technical skills of the village, which embodies the Confucian ideology in its landscape, which is in harmony with nature.
Criteria v: Traditional human settlement The village represents the typical administrative town of the Joseon Dynasty, and it is a classical example of a fortress town of Joseon. Located in an important geographical area connecting the sea (Southern coast) and the land, it was created using its natural topographical conditions and developed as a traditional settlement. The village is a living cultural heritage as a whole where the descendents of the Joseon Dynasty still reside.
Criteria vi: Heritage associated with events of universal significance The village is a venue for the transmission of important intangible cultural heritage, including farmer's music (nongak), communal rituals, pansori epic chant, gayageum (12-string instrument) performance with songs (gayageum byeongchang) and seasonal customs and rites. These intangible heritage enhances the understanding the local culture from the Joseon Dynasty.

According to *Korea Culture & Tourism Institute*, 811,674 tourists visited the site in 2015 (Domestic: 798,281, International: 13,393; see **Table 3-2**). Naganeupseong offers a variety of programs for touristic experience such as traditional music performances, traditional manners, oxcart, natural dyeing, convolutional crafts, wood working, ceramic arts, paper art, and penitentiary experience, and holds several on-site festivals, Daeboreum (full moon) festival in February or March, Nagan folk culture festival in May, and the Namdo food festival in

September or October (see **Table 3-3**).[7] The entrance fee for tourists is 4,000 won (about four dollars), while locals in the region receive a half price discount (about two dollar).

Table 3-2. Annual number of tourists visiting Naganeupseong in the last 5 years (2011-2015)

Tourists/Year	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Domestic	1,060,544	1,151,084	1,234,399	855,630	798,281
International	18,426	16,437	50,512	37,634	13,393
Total	1,078,970	1,167,521	1,284,911	893,264	811,674

- Source: Tourism Knowledge Information System of Korea (www.tour.go.kr)

Table 3-3. Monthly number of tourists visiting Naganeupseong in the last 3 years (2013-2015)

2013	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Domestic	35,654	46,427	53,225	80,238	190,780	63,548	35,310	62,269	83,344	490,596	57,281	35,727
International	293	52	1,248	2,085	1,744	3,141	3,970	13,813	2,948	4,475	12,822	3,921
Total	35,947	46,479	54,473	82,323	192,524	66,689	39,280	76,082	86,292	495,071	70,103	39,648
Festivals		○			○					○		
2014	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Domestic	55,240	53,711	48,185	67,558	85,363	57,758	43,471	71,002	59,881	208,244	76,056	29,161
International	488	291	532	4,837	6,625	6,985	8,133	2,545	2,301	2,851	1,560	486
Total	55,728	54,002	48,717	72,395	91,988	64,743	51,604	73,547	62,182	211,095	77,616	29,647
Festivals		○			○				○			
2015	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sep	Oct	Nov	Dec
Domestic	44,876	37,412	73,457	74,750	119,360	21,444	35,380	61,157	54,443	183,750	58,102	34,150
International	462	1,245	2,903	1,492	1,172	460	234	476	1,375	2,283	1,178	113
Total	45,338	38,657	76,360	76,360	120,532	21,904	35,614	61,633	55,818	186,033	59,280	34,263
Festivals			○		○					○		

- Source: Tourism Knowledge Information System of Korea (www.tour.go.kr)

3.2 Ethnographic Research Method

The ethnographic approach to research aims to reveal diverse knowledge, meanings and interpretations of particular social and cultural phenomena based on the specific local context (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Park, 2010). According to Handwerker (2001), ethnography "consists of the processes and products of research that document what people know, feel, and do in a way

[7] However, in 2015, the Namdo food festival was moved to another city (Danyang-gun). Accordingly, in 2015, the Nagan folk culture festival that was originally held in May was moved to October, while the Gayageum (Korean zither with twelve strings) Byung-Chang (singing together in chorus) contest was held in May, 2015.

that situates those phenomena at specific times in the history of individual lives, including pertinent global events and processes" (p. 7). In this respect, ethnographers aim to "see cultural phenomena from the viewpoint of the people who create and use them, looking out from the inside" (Handwerker, 2001, p. 4), producing a "thick description" (Geertz, 1973) and embodied knowledge based on individual experiences and personal interpretations.

Given that there is no one monolithic knowledge or truth that can be universalized or generalized (Hokowhitu, 2010; Tengan, 2008), there exists a variety of different interpretations and perspectives based on each one's own way of knowing and subjectivity. For example, Taiaiake (2009), a Critical Indigenous scholar, argues that Indigenous people have completely different values and belief systems and different approaches to power and knowledge production than the Western framework of knowing and doing things. He further insists that understanding and recognizing the traditional values and beliefs from the inside is essential because it will ultimately reinforce Indigenous people's inherent power for self-determination and enable them "to take wisdom from our own tradition and apply it to contemporary challenges in innovative ways, to develop self-reliance and autonomy" (p. 169).

By embracing a dialectical and relational view of knowledge, Denzin and Lincoln (2008) suggest that research practices (especially in indigenous settings) should be based on "a critical epistemology that contests notions of objectivity and neutrality," while valuing auto-ethnographic, insider, participatory and collaborative methodologies (p. 6). Indeed, the main intention for using critical theory and methodologies, including an ethnographic approach, is to reveal and explore the other's way of knowing and their perspectives on the social and cultural phenomenon they are involved in, grounded in "the specific meanings, traditions, customs, and community relations" that operate in the local settings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008, p. 6).

As a participatory mode of knowing, the ethnographic approach values sharing, subjectivity and the personal knowledge that is embedded in the cultural values and practices of the local. Because local knowledge is knowledge of a particular local situation that is context-specific, it is most essential for the reproduction of cultural meaning and practices (Yifeng, 2009). Thus, the role of the ethnographer in a specific setting "is not to determine 'the truth' but to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 3). In this respect, Bruner (2005) suggests that we "move away from a classical, objective ethnography to a more reflexive, processual, critical interpretive mode" (p. 5). He further argues that, in the context of cultural tourism, ethnographers should examine "tourist productions [and performances] within their larger historical, economic, and political context and study the very particularistic local setting within they are displayed," since they are considered as ongoing social practices which are constitutive, evolving and historical (pp. 5-7).

In line with Bruner's (2005) suggestion, ethnographic approaches have been frequently adopted in the context of cultural and heritage tourism, aiming to explore the different perspectives of the stakeholders involved in the process of tourism development (i.e., local communities, tourists, government/public sector, and industry/private sector). Given that culture and heritage are contested notions that are socially constructed, it has been recognized essential to identify each stakeholder’s perspectives in understanding the specific culture and heritage in a given context. In this respect, in the context of heritage tourism (Changdeok Palace) in South Korea, Park (2010) employs ethnographic approaches to reveal and better understand the diverse perceptions and perspectives of both tourists and site employees in viewing the relationship between heritage and national identity.

On the other hand, recently, by recognizing that the locals' voice has been largely

excluded from the process of presenting cultural heritage for a tourism context, ethnographical approaches have been widely used to explore the locals' perspective and their understanding of the embedded meaning of their cultural heritage and its development process. For example, Uriely, Israeli and Reichel (2002) explored residents' attitudes towards heritage tourism development in Nazareth based on their religious affiliations (Muslims and Christians), and suggest that residents whose heritage is positively promoted for tourism might be more likely to support its development than those whose religious or cultural heritage is ignored.

In sum, the ethnographic approach is based on the understanding that there exists a variety of different and contested perspectives and interpretations of any social phenomenon. This in turn demands a holistic approach with "meta-narratives" (Bruner, 2005, p. 21) and a view of its larger social, political and economic context, including its power relationships, as mediating between the global and the local.

Stewart (1998) suggests that there are five main characteristics of ethnographic research: participant observation, holism, context sensitivity, socio-cultural description, and theoretical connections. That is, along with a broad and macro understanding of the local context, ethnographers should carefully do field work and gather data by talking and listening to the locals, and by observing them and participating in their daily lives, making every effort to understand them on their own terms. Indeed, as people engage and participate in multiple cultures depending on their age, gender, class, culture and nationality, "good ethnographers must interact intensively and create personal relationships with the people they want to understand" (Handwerker, 2001, p. 10).

3.3 Multi-Method Approach in Ethnography

Due to the multi-dimensional and multi-faceted aspects of social and cultural phenomenon, the ethnographic approach often adopts and employs multiple methods. This is based on the belief that "Multiple research strategies could counterbalance the biases or flaws arising from the employment of a single method of design and analysis" (Park, 2010, p. 118). Indeed, mixed use of various methods is believed to contribute to gaining an intimate insight into the intricate social world. Moreover, by using a variety of data collection and analysis tools, Handwerker (2001) suggests that researchers can achieve "specific, complementary, and overlapping project goals; their integration [and triangulation] yields findings with high reliability and construct validity" (p. 4). He suggests that "Complementary data may come from focus group interviews and observations and from unpublished and published texts, including diaries, letters, historical documents, and government-assembled national or regional aggregated data sets" (p. 12).

On the other hand, Handwerker (2001) argues that we not confuse ethnography with qualitative methods, and suggests that ethnography may use multiple research methods (both quantitative and qualitative) in order to best address our research questions and to adequately understand the multifaceted social and cultural phenomenon we are interested in. He specifically argues that superior ethnography "ordinarily blends numbers, words, and pictures," and is based on both quantitative and qualitative research methods (p. 11). According to Greene (2007), a mixed methods way of thinking enables meaningful engagement with differences by respecting the distinctive traditions of both quantitative and qualitative inquiry. Indeed, it often is beneficial to use more than one research method in order to progress toward greater understanding of a given context, while generating a richer, deeper, and better understanding of the complex and multifaceted social phenomena (Greene, 2007; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2010; Ungar & Liebenberg,

2011). This approach allows us to not only produce holistic and multi-level explanations for a given context and phenomenon, but also to increase the reliability and generalizability of the results.

In tourism research, Hartmann (1988) suggests that the multiple method approach is "proved to be ultimately a powerful heuristic tool" (p. 100). He indicates that combination and integration of different field methods and techniques can help reveal new aspects and unknown dimensions of tourists' travel habits, both at the micro- and macro-level. The information gained through different field methods (in-depth and casual interviews, participant observations, diaries, aerial photographs and secondary data) can prove to be complementary in nature and allows counterchecks. For example, in her work exploring the relationship between heritage and national identity, Park (2010) used multiple ethnographic approaches (participant observation, in-depth interviews, systematic lurking and friendly conversations) in ways to better obtain tacit and intimate knowledge through multifarious interactions between the researcher and the researched. As a result, I approach my study as a great example of ethnographic research.

3.4 Institutional Ethnography (IE)

Institutional ethnography (IE) is based on the notion that our culture is socially constructed. IE is a method of inquiry that "works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover [and unearth] the social as it extends beyond experience" (Smith, 2005, p. 10). A basic approach that distinguishes IE from traditional ethnography is that it further incorporates the characteristics of complex and dynamic social relations to understand the local's lived experiences. The IE approach analyzes texts and documents under the assumption that texts function as coordinators of people's everyday lives and specifically focuses on the aspects of

institutions that are relevant to people's lived experiences. In this regard, the main purpose of using IE is to better understand how social and power structures within institutions impact people's everyday experience.

IE enables us to understand how the experiences of groups of people are shaped and constructed by the authorities to which they are connected, connections that are usually invisible and that most of people are unaware of in their daily lives. Campbell and Gregor (2004) specifically claim "institutional ethnography acts as a kind of radiography of everyday life, making visible its skeletal underpinnings" (p. 97). In a similar vein, Taber (2010) states that "institutional ethnography tends to show us the trees that were hidden in the forest; once we see the trees (ruling relations), they can never again recede. And once we can see the ruling relations, we can begin to interrogate and challenge them" (p. 20).

IE was initially developed by Dorothy Smith (1987, 1990, 2005) as a feminist research methodology to understand the knowledge and experience of women whose voices have been largely excluded, suppressed, ignored or marginalized by an exclusive focus on men and their viewpoint. In finding ways to create the language of sociological discourse from the standpoint of women's lived experience, Smith, by using IE, aimed to reveal "both the diversity of actual people's lives and the mechanisms that make them invisible in institutional processes" (Dergousoff, 2014, p. 74). By focusing on the embodied experiences of women and mapping the forces that shape those lived experiences, Smith was able to examine how their daily activities and experiences are coordinated and mediated by institutions in the form of texts (forms, manuals, standard, reports, etc.). Here it is important to distinguish the use of 'institution' in IE because it does not refer to a particular type of organization; 'institution' in IE "is meant to

inform a project of empirical inquiry, directing the researcher's attention to coordinated and intersecting work processes taking place in multiple sites" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006, p. 17).

Smith suggests that the basic ideas of IE can be summarized as the following formula: "AI + D + C = S (A[ctual] I[ndividuals] + [their] D[oings] + [how] C[oordinated] = [the] S[ocial])" (as cited in Ranero, 2011, p. 58). Smith (2005) indicates that social relations and ruling relations are textually mediated, they "connect us across space and time and organize our everyday lives—the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic and professional discourses, mass media, and the complex of relations that interconnect them" (p. 10). IE has particular interest in how the textually mediated practices of ruling relations construct the actualities of everyday life. Social relations are the invisible forces that shape the meaning and experience of people everyday and influence people's perspectives, decisions and actions in purposeful ways (Campbell & Gregor, 2004). In this respect, IE aims to enlarge the scope of what can be seen, making visible the ruling relations that influence the everyday lives of people. According to Smith (2005), ruling relations refer to the social organization or institutional structures (including cultural ideologies) where power that shapes and mediates the characteristics of the society is produced. Accordingly, IE focuses on how the texts of organizations coordinate people's everyday lived experiences by locating "individuals and their experience within a complex institutional field" (McCoy, 2006, p. 113).

Texts in IE are considered important material forms that connect the local with the trans-local ruling relations that reflect the values, goals and priorities of the institution. According to Smith (2007), local settings are where people's daily lived experiences are performed, while the trans-local settings are the social organizations that shape those experiences. In this respect, IE is used to examine how the organization of social institutions "organize and shape what we do and

experience and what we participate in without knowing those strands that come within our scope" (Smith, 2007, p. 412). In short, IE, by examining how lived experiences of people's everyday lives are shaped by the social relations, "connects both the micro and macro levels of social organization and provides a mechanism to map out how these two levels are intertwined and linked" (Ranero, 2011, p. 51). In this respect, institutional ethnographers often produce maps of these interconnections as a way of visualizing them (Walby, 2013).

While IE was initially developed as a 'sociology for women,' it has further evolved into a 'sociology for people' by recognizing its usefulness in understanding people's everyday experience in a broader and more diverse contexts. For example, IE has been increasingly used in various fields including sociology (Walby, 2013), and education (Nichols & Griffith, 2009; Slade, 2012; Tummons, 2010), as well as development and management studies (Dergousoff, 2014; Turner, 2002). And in the context of tourism, Jeong and Santos (2004) conducted an institutional ethnography to examine the conflicting and contested relationships among cultural politics, place identity, social control and resistance operating in the Kangnung Dano Festival in Korea.

3.5 Data Collection and Analysis

Institutional ethnography (IE) is a method of inquiry that is largely consistent with those of qualitative approaches. It commonly includes participant observations, interviews and document or textual analysis to investigate "how things are put together so they happen the way they do" (Dergousoff, 2014, p. 96). IE begins with issues, concerns or problems that are real for people in their actually lived, everyday experience and examines how the social relations and ruling forces influence the lives of people (Smith, 2005). In this respect, participant observation and

institutional texts are considered essential in IE. While the former enables researchers to construct an initial understanding of the subjectivity of the everyday experiences of the people being considered, the later helps to examine the social relations that are behind those experiences and activities as well as to explore and identify the invisible ruling relations that coordinate them. This process leads to understanding of the lived experience and discovering how it is mediated, coordinated and ruled by institutional texts, which are the main goals and powerful outcomes of IEs.

It is important to note that IE as a research method is a process that “follows the shape of the problematic in the everyday world that the researcher explicates, not the shape of a plan developed prior to the undertaking of the inquiry” (Campbell & Gregor, 2004, p. 56). This is mainly because the purpose of ethnography in general is to discover and gain knowledge based on people's everyday experiences; "the ethnographer works from the social in people's experience to discover its presence and organization in their lives and to explicate or map that organization beyond the local of the everyday" (Smith, 2005, p. 11). Rather than having a pre-constructed or predetermined plan or imposing pre-formulated interpretations prior to entering the site, the direction of the research is developed step-by-step during the research process (Devault & McCoy, 2006). This characteristic of not having a fully developed research plan is not unique to IE; it is a rather common feature of ethnographic inquiry (Dergousoff, 2014; Devault & McCoy, 2006; Walby, 2013).

On the other hand, while ethnography in general often requires an extensive amount of time in the field to accumulate appropriate data that can best describe and represent the locals' perspective on the given social and cultural context, Handwerker (2001) argues that short periods of ethnographic research can also yield a wealth of high-quality data. To do so, the researcher

must have a clear vision of exactly where to go to collect data, use personal time to greatest advantage when in the field, and employ an appropriate selection of research tools based on the research questions. He suggests that the time and cost of fieldwork "demand for greater research efficiency and productivity" (p. 3), and he provides a useful guideline for conducting 'Quick Ethnography (QE).' This approach undertakes field research within ninety days or less. Handwerker (2001) specifically indicates that QE principles inform us to focus "on who agrees with and acts like whom about what and to what degree and on how specific social relations and life experiences contribute to the construction and change of culture" (p. 11).

Based on Handwerker's (2001) guideline for "Quick Ethnography," this institutional ethnography research will incorporate three main research methods as an evolving and iterative process. These will include participant observation, institutional texts and semi-structured interviews. According to Greene (2007), "The integrative task in an iterative design is to represent the results of one method in ways that meaningfully inform the desired development of another" (p. 126). Based on a clear research question, data collection tasks will be organized into three components: 1) building a foundation (participant observation and institutional texts), 2) building the database (semi-structured interviews), and 3) fine-tuning the findings (see **Figure 3-2**). Here, each component will not be considered a separate sequential process but rather as an overlapping and integrated process in that each of the components simultaneously inform, shape and mediate each others' boundaries throughout the research process. In addition, given that fieldwork realities usually mean "the collapse of the research plans" that are made before the arrival in the field, Handwerker (2001) suggests using "theory and methods imaginatively to survive" (p. 33).

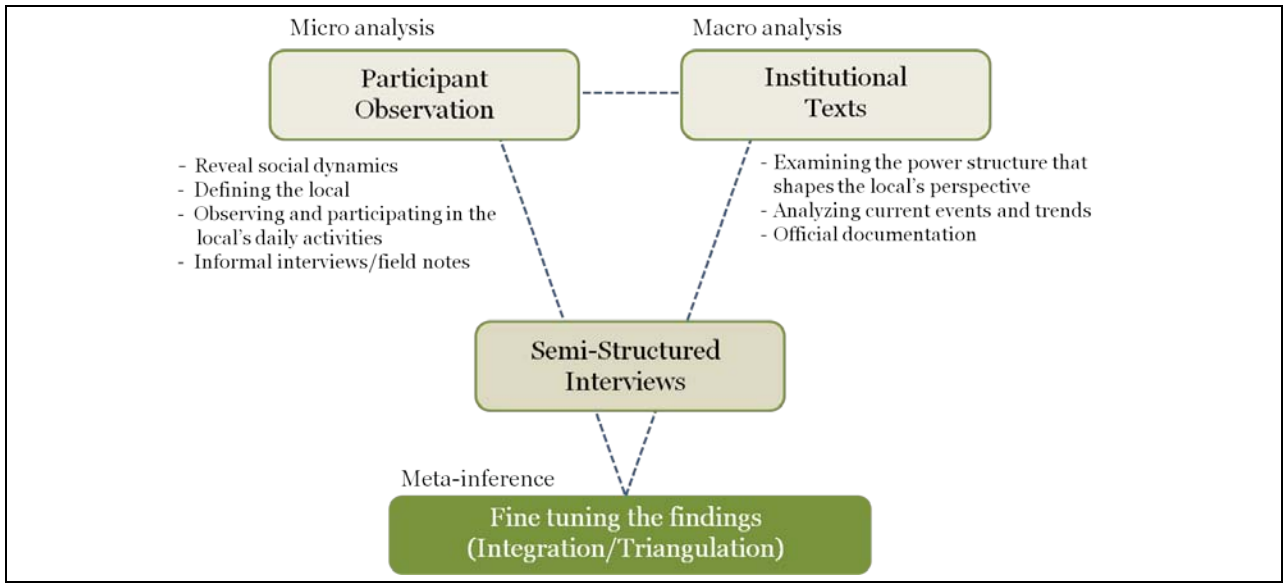


Figure 3-2. Institutional ethnography: Research methods and procedures

3.5.1 Building a Foundation: Participant Observation and Institutional texts

The fieldwork was conducted from August to December, 2015. As a general approach to fieldwork, and as an initial starting point, both participant observation and analysis of institutional texts were incorporated to construct the foundation of my fieldwork. The integration of these two methods is believed to provide both macro and micro perspectives, which will ultimately provide a holistic perspective for understanding the local context. Both were used to conceptualize the given context and to provide a useful framework of thought. While participant observation provided me a deep understanding of the locals' micro perspective in their specific context, institutional texts gave me an opportunity to understand that perspective within a broader context of the social, economic and political circumstances that influence and shape ways of thinking and behaving. This approach aimed and intended to enhance internal validity by creating a better understanding of what I encountered during fieldwork and taking that understanding a step further in my research.

Participant Observation and Field Notes

Participant observation is considered a fundamental and central method for ethnography in general and IE in particular. It allows the researcher to interact and create personal relationships with the people, and further, to understand their cultural knowledge and their perspectives and interpretations of the social and cultural phenomena that impact their daily lives, as well as their social dynamics and relationships. Getting close to those studied is often considered an initial starting point for learning a culture. By developing good relationships "as a way of understanding what their experiences and activities mean to them" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995, p. 12) we can accumulate a thick-descriptive understanding. In other words, it is an "iterative process" of developing "a tacit understanding of meaning, events and contexts by the researcher" (Dewalt, Dewalt, & Wayland, 1998, p. 271). According to Bowen (2002), in his research on measuring tourists' satisfaction/dissatisfaction, participant observation was adopted as a valuable tool to understand the tourist performance within a context "through time—and not just as a moment in time" (p. 7).

In the process of participant observation, ensuring that people feel comfortable with the researcher is extremely important. Hence, I initiated participant observation by making myself available and sharing my research purpose, personal experiences and background, and spending time with subjects participating in the study and observing their daily lives and activities as well as actively listening—these steps are considered crucial for getting involved in the target context and for building good relationships and rapport with the locals (Dewalt, Dewalt, & Wayland, 1998; Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012). In this regard, it was important to be a careful and sensitive researcher and listener both as participant and observer. Indeed, Handwerker (2009) suggests interacting intensively and creating personal relationships with the people we want to understand.

He emphasizes the importance of "personal sensitivity and creativity to allow people to feel comfortable with you, to communicate clearly to people whom you ask for assistance that you are nonthreatening" (p. 107).

As a starting point to build good relationships and to actively interact with the locals, I stayed at several guesthouses located in different areas of Naganeupseong (see **Table 3-4**). Here, many locals offer part of their private homes inside the fortress to tourists as guesthouses. There are several advantages to staying at a guesthouse when visiting Naganeupseong: 1) there is no additional charge for the daily entrance fee, and 2) the visitor can stay at the site even after the site is closed (operation time for visitors: winter season, 09:00-17:00; summer season, 08:30-18:30). Accordingly, when staying at a guesthouse, I had great opportunities to personally interact and talk with the residents after closing time when most of the tourists had left the site. I was able to have a closer look into their culture and their daily lives, as well as to explore social relations such as how residents are connected and relate to each other. Also, by doing so, it was possible to determine how their needs and demands are represented and by whom in the process of tourism development and management. Indeed, this information allowed me to gain personal understanding of the culture and further helped me to identify key stakeholders in the community with whom to conduct subsequent semi-structured interviews.

Table 3-4. List of guesthouses inside Naganeupseong

Naganeupseong site map and locations of private houses (also used as guesthouses)


Table 3-4. List of guesthouses inside Naganeupseong (Cont.)

Guesthouse	Contact#	Guesthouse	Contact#
Sigoal guesthouse	82-10-9473-6606	Yeonji guesthouse	82-10-9754-3176
Ginkgo guesthouse	82-10-3754-3037	Sigoalzip guesthouse	82-10-9698-3474
Chungsa chorong guesthouse	82-10-2680-4557	Choga guesthouse	82-10-2633-3198
Hwangto-bang guesthouse	82-11-638-0669	Youyooseun guesthouse	82-10-4514-0880
Samguri guesthouse	82-10-8606-4304	Yibangzip guesthouse	82-10-3627-6632
Hyangtoa guesthouse	82-10-5477-1959	Yeonjabanga guesthouse	82-10-5358-3603
Camellia guesthouse	82-10-9810-8833	Mulraebanga guesthouse	82-10-5554-2968
Jangdocdae guesthouse	82-10-7158-2766	Fortress guesthouse	82-10-8914-7773
Sarangchae guesthouse	82-10-9028-3493	Gohyangzip guesthouse	82-10-3420-3498
Hwangto-bang guesthouse	82-10-3936-3190	Knollbu guesthouse	82-10-9224-5877
East gate guesthouse	82-10-7270-2932	Shimtau guesthouse	82-10-8280-3059
Dongnae guesthouse	82-10-6523-3448	East gate guesthouse	82-10-6650-3389
Jandi guesthouse	82-16-9609-6664	Halmae guesthouse	82-19-286-2840
Minsok guesthouse	82-10-3642-2766	Chugazip guesthouse	82-10-7136-2853
Doyea guesthouse	82-10-3645-2554	Large fountain guesthouse	82-11-417-9063
Silzip guesthouse	82-10-2052-5722	Nakwon guesthouse	82-10-8938-5778
Nari guesthouse	82-10-5197-8905	Daesung guesthouse	82-10-4634-6269
Cherry tree guesthouse	82-10-4140-2995	Jujube tree guesthouse	82-10-3320-6592
Gagopa Chamsari guesthouse	82-19-671-3394	Inner east gate guesthouse	82-10-5199-3023
South gate guesthouse	82-10-7738-6590	Eupseong guesthouse	82-10-8717-3396
Time travel guesthouse	82-10-7110-1760	Pond guesthouse	82-10-3711-1635
Guenae guesthouse	82-10-4545-6847		

During this process, informal and unstructured observations were conducted, and extensive field notes and photographs taken, including reflection and write-up. As Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland (1998) specifically indicate, "the method of participant observation includes the explicit use of behavior analysis and recording of the information gained from participating and observing" (p. 259). Writing field notes is "virtually the only way for researchers to record the observation of day-to-day events and behavior, overheard conversations, and casual interviews that are the primary materials of participant observation" (Dewalt, Dewalt & Wayland, 1998, p. 270). In writing field notes, Emerson, Fretz and Shaw (1995) suggest taking notes and recording the initial impressions of the physical environment, personal reactions toward key events and incidents, and how others in the setting experience and react as 'significant' and 'important' (pp. 26-29). In a similar vein, Dewalt, Dewalt and Wayland (1998)

suggest three kinds of notes: records of events observed and information given, records of prolonged activities and ceremonies, and, following the practices of contemporary ethnographers, a set of chronological, daily notes, which the authors call a journal (p. 270). Here, when documenting data, a sole dependence on field notes may not capture the whole picture because written data cannot capture the visual aspects of the data. Accordingly, photographs were taken to complement field notes and to better represent and document the local context. The photo journal includes the built environments and social dynamics and interactions that occurred during my stay in Naganeupseong.

On the other hand, since taking field notes while interacting or having conversations with participants might create an uncomfortable situation (Jackson, 1990), it is often suggested that the researcher write about the observations and experiences each time he or she exits the field or right after a certain event occurs (Ribeiro & Foemmel, 2012). Ultimately, text data collected through participant observation and field notes provided me with important insights into the assumptions and variables that the "informants use to understand and respond to the world of experience, the components of that world, and how those components are organized to form social and behavioral ecosystems" (Handwerker, 2001, pp. 105-107).

Institutional Texts

As discussed previously, institutional ethnography (IE) views the social world as organized in powerful ways by trans-local social relations that affect and shape local decisions according to the dynamic interactions between multiple ideas, cultures, and perspectives (DeVault & McCoy, 2006; Jeong & Santos, 2004; Smith, 2005). Analytically fundamental to this approach is "an ontology that views the social as the concerting of people's activities" (DeVault & McCoy, 2006,

p. 370). DeVault and McCoy (2006) are specific:

> Institutional ethnography is driven by the search to discover 'how it happens' [and 'how things work,'] with the underlying assumptions that (a) social 'happening' consists in the concerted activities of people and (b) in contemporary society, local practices and experiences are tied into extended social relations or chains of action, many of which are mediated by documentary forms of knowledge (p. 372).

According to DeVault (2006), institutional ethnography focuses on texts and discourses (e.g., official policy documents, funding proposals, development and strategic plans) that come from an empirical observation and aims "to reveal the organizing power of texts, making visible just how activities in local settings are coordinated and managed extra-locally" (p. 295).

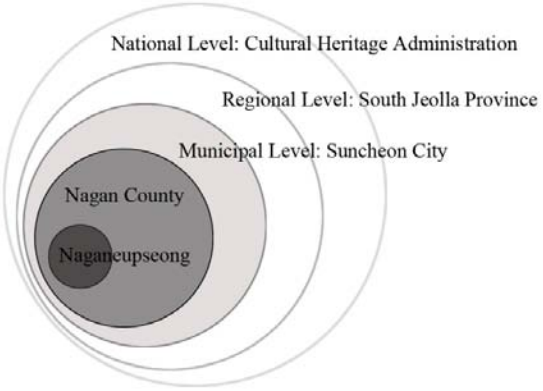
Therefore, along with participant observation, I collected and analyzed secondary data during my stay in the field as a part of institutional ethnography. Secondary data includes archival research that was conducted to generate a deeper understanding of the specific local context across time and space, as well as current trends and issues surrounding the site. In short, by employing institutional ethnography approach, the current study explores how the locals' daily experiences and activities "are brought under the jurisdiction of the ruling texts of institutional life" (DeVault, 2006, p. 297).

In doing so, it was essential to develop a deep understanding of the local structure, power dynamics and relations from a macro perspective and to construct a 'larger picture' of the local. To help gain this understanding, I collected and analyzed public, official work that was done in the given setting and used it "to identify macro-level historical processes like structural change in regional economies" (Handwerker, 2001, p. 145). Based on the belief that what "people think and do must reflect not only their individual life history but broader regional and global histories of the people, events, and social interactions into which they were born and in which they grew up" (p. 20), secondary data provided me additional insight into the local from a broad perspective

and created a space to investigate the "historical chain of action [and ruling discourses]" (Jeong & Santos, 2004, p. 644) of Naganeupseong.

Along with the data collection through participant observation, I collected, analyzed and integrated the secondary data by placing it in the larger context of micro-level processes such as current events and trends. These data were collected from publicly available institutional materials that are considered relevant and that have a stake in the process of site management of Naganeupseong (see **Table 3-5**).

Table 3-5. List of institutions and corresponding contact information

Level of Institutions	**Nagan County Site Map**
	

List of Institutions			**Contact#**
Naganeupseong	Local associations	Naganeupseong Preservation Society	82-61-754-3150
		Research Institute for Venacular Culture of Nagan	82-61-754-3104
Local Level (Nagan County)	Local government	Naganeupseong Management Office	82-61-749-3645
		Nagan County Residence Center Office	82-61-749-3328
	Educational Institutions	Nagan Elementary School	82-61-754-3399
		Nagan Middle School	82-61-754-2505
		Suncheon City Museum	82-61-749-8855
		Nagan Hyanggyo (a local school annexed to the Confucian shrine)	82-61-754-3277
Municipal Level	Suncheon City Hall (Division of Art & Culture)		82-61-749-5808
Regional Level	South Jeolla (Jeonnam) Province (Culture and Tourism division)		82-61-286-5244
National Level	Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea		82-42-481-4738

Specifically, archival materials and official documentation related to the site management of Naganeupseong were collected and analyzed. These include official policy documents, funding proposals, development and strategic plans, historical data, and promotion brochures (see **Table 3-6**). In addition, as explained later in this chapter, local authorities and regional stakeholders were interviewed during the data collection period as a larger part of institutional ethnography.

Table 3-6. List of collected institutions texts

Development and strategic plans	Suncheon City. (2006). 2006-2020: Medium and long-term development roadmap
	Song, G. D. (2013). Naganeupseong preservation and revitalization plans. Naganeupseong
	Suncheon City. (2014a). Korea's ecological capital, Suncheon: 2014-2018 master plan
	Suncheon City. (2014b). 2014 Major business plans
	Suncheon City. (2015a). 2016 Major business plans
	Suncheon City. (2015b). Suncheon development plans by 2020
	Naganeupseong Management Office. (2015a). Current condition of Naganeupseong
	Naganeupseong Management Office. (2015b). Naganeupseong restoration project
Historical data (Books)	Nagan County. (2015). *General information of Nagan County*. Nagan County
	Seongju-gun. (1985). *Naganeupseong folk village: Detailed investigation report of present condition*. Seongju-gun
	Song, G. D. (2015). *Naganeupseong*. Suncheon City
Policy documents (WHS designation)	Namdo Tradition and Cultural Promotion Institute. (2010). Roadmap and application process of Naganeupseong for World Heritage Site designation
	Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea. (2011). Naganeupseong, town fortress and village: UNESCO World Heritage Tentative List submission
Promotion Brochures	Naganeupseong tour guide pamphlet
	Nagan folk culture festival brochure
	Suncheon City tourism brochure
Reports and Others	Naganeupseong Folk Culture Festival Committee. (2014). Evaluation report of the 21th Nagan Folk Culture Festival
	Naganeupseong Folk Culture Festival Committee. (2015). Evaluation report of the 22th Nagan Folk Culture Festival
	Naganeupseong Management Office. (2015). Result report of the 22th Nagan Folk Culture Festival
	Number of students in/around Naganeupseong (from elementary and middle school)

3.5.2 Building a Data Base: Semi-Structured Interviews

The insight gained from participant observation and institutional texts was further substantiated through more structured techniques. Based on the findings from participant observation and secondary data, I was able to deduce and restructure my understanding of the local context. In

the process, I drew up lists of questions and used semi-structured interviews to extend the number and variety of people I talked with (Handwerker, 2001, p. 121). In other words, I formulated semi-structured interviews to pursue specific questions, topics, and issues in greater depth.

The purpose of my current research was to answer the following research questions in the context of Naganeupseong, South Korea: How do the global and the local articulate and construct multifaceted intersections in the context of heritage tourism? How are value systems similar or different between the global (in terms of UNESCO's notion of Outstanding Universal Value) and the local, and are there conflicts or tensions between the two systems? To what extent is the process of glocalization mediated in WHS, and by whom? How does this process redefine, reproduce and restructure the local landscape? How does the local perceive the existing tourist, and what are their strategies (if any) to adopt, negotiate, or negate the potential overwhelming tourist demands (both domestic and international)? What are the local's expectations and fears for WHS designation? And, how do those expectations and fears align with global expectations for WHS designation and preservation?

Identifying key stakeholders as well as potential participants by pertinent social labels (i.e., gender, age, role in the community, length of living in the community, etc.) was essential to best provide a diverse and holistic perspective. Accordingly, the interviewees were selected with the goal of obtaining a wide variety of perspectives, using a purposive sampling approach in ways to balance key variables between participants. Consequently, 34 in-depth interviews were conducted with a variety of stakeholders in the context of Naganeupseong, including residents, local representatives, local officials, and non-residents (see **Table 3-7**).

Table 3-7. List of participants and their characteristics

Participants (2015)		Gender	Age	Length of Stay	Other characteristics
Residents living inside the village	R1	female	70s	Born and raised	- West district; living alone
	R2	male	60s	Born and raised	- East district; living with his wife; working in tourist experience center
	R3	male	70s	17years	- East district; living with his wife and old mother; recently came into the village from Seoul
	R4	male	70s	Born and raised	- West district; living with his wife
	R5	female	60s	35years	- East district; living with her husband
	R6	female	60s	39years	- East district; living with her husband
	R7	female	80s	Born and raised	- South district; living alone; heavily relies on the profit from operating guest house
	R8	female	60s	38years	- South district; living with her husband
	R9	male	70s	Born and raised	- West district; living with his wife
	R10	female	70s	49years	- South district; living with her husband
	R11	female	60s	31years	- West district; living with her old mother in law; working in the restaurant; her son's family recently moved out to the city
	R12	female	70s	42years	- East district; living with her husband
	R13	male	50s	Born and raised	- West district; living with his wife; part time job in tourism events
	R14	female	70s	50years	- South district; living with her husband; working in the restaurant
	R15	male	80s	67years	- West district; living alone
	R16	female	60s	40years	- South district; living with her husband
Relocated Residents	R17	male	70s	Born and raised	- Restaurant owner
	R18	female	60s	37years	- Living outside the fortress with her husband
	R19	male	60s	Born and raised	- Living outside the fortress with his wife and son's family
Local Representatives	LR1	male	70s	Born and raised	- The honorary commissioned village chief - Director of Research Institute for Venacular Culture of Nagan
	LR2	male	60s	Born and raised	- Director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society
	LR3	male	40s	Born and raised	- Director of Commercial Center Cooperative - Relocated resident
Officials	O1	male	40s	-	- Official of Naganeupseong Management Office - Managing overall tourism development plans
	O2	male	50s	-	- Official of Naganeupseong Management Office - Managing restoration and maintenance projects
	O3	male	30s	-	- Official of Nagan County Residence Center
	O4	male	40s	-	- Official of Suncheon City office (division of Art & Culture) - Managing the process of WHS designation
Non- residents	NR1	female	50s	-	- Restaurant employee (Suncheon citizen)
	NR2	female	60s	-	- Restaurant employee (Suncheon citizen)
	NR3	female	40s	-	- City employed performer (Suncheon citizen) - Working in tourist experience center
	NR4	female	40s	-	- City employed performer (Suncheon citizen) - Working in tourist experience center
	NR5	female	30s	-	- Nagan elementary school teacher
	NR6	male	40s	-	- Nagan middle school director
	NR7	male	50s	-	- Nagan Hyanggyo director and manager
	NR8	male	40s	-	- Museum employee

- Note: Naganeupseong consists of three main districts: Namnae-ri (South district), Dongnae-ri (East district), and Seonae-ri (West district)

By getting immersed into the social context and conducting semi-structured interviews, I was able to gain an in-depth and interpretative understanding of the personal opinions and value systems of the social actors themselves (McLeod, 2003). Interview questions for my research focused on personal background and residential history, global/local intersection (in particular, opportunities and concerns for cultural changes), and overall perceptions of WHS designation and tourism development.

Moreover, as part of collecting institutional texts, I first visited educational institutions located nearby Naganeupseong to gain initial understanding of the local context in general. Since these institutions are considered to be indirectly involved in the management of Naganeupseong, their perspectives on the local context would be just as revealing as the perspectives of those who are directly involved. Hence, visiting these institutions in the initial stage of my data collection helped me to construct and shape my fundamental perspective of the local context while avoiding the possibility of being influenced by the subjective or biased perspectives of people who may have their own personal interest in representing the local context in a specific way. This approach was considered important because my perspective may have been significantly shaped and influenced by the perspective of the first person I met and talked with. Accordingly, the process enabled me identify whom I should meet first to appropriately develop my initial understanding of the local context. Subsequently, social relations and key stakeholders—including local representatives who play a crucial role (those having power and legitimacy)—in the process of site management were identified as the next step of this data collection process.

Second, to collect actual institutional texts I visited two local associations, Naganeupseong Preservation Society and the Research Institute for Venacular Culture of Nagan as well as the local management offices (Nagan County Residence Center, and Naganeupseong

Management Office). It follows that institutional ethnographers listen for and ask about the texts people produce within organizations (DeVault & McCoy, 2006). This process helped me to learn and discover where the local residents in Naganeupseong are located in relation to the ruling relations and to explore how texts mediate and shape the lived experience of the locals. The two local associations, which are founded by the local residents themselves for protecting and managing the site, are both located inside Naganeupseong. The local management offices are located in close proximity to Naganeupseong (see **Table 3-5**, Nagan County site map). With this easy access while staying at Naganeupseong, I frequently visited these local institutions to collect data.

By doing so, I have collected data regarding how the site is being managed and how the decision-making process for tourism development and WHS designation is being made, and by whom. For example, who is involved in the management system of Naganeupseong and at which level of governance are they? Who interacts with UNESCO and how is the process of WHS designation developing? Who controls and determines the content and characteristics of local festivals? Who determines the entrance fee for Naganeupseong, and how is the income being used? To answer these questions, data related to current issues, concerns and trends of Naganeupseong were further collected and analyzed.

Lastly, I visited the municipal government (Suncheon City Hall) to investigate how the site is being managed and viewed at an upper level of management. This allowed me to gain a macro perspective of the decision-making process related to Naganeupseong and of its significance in a broader context.

During this process of collecting institutional texts, I sat down with an informant who works closely on this issue and the text in question and talked very concretely about what is in

the text and how the informant works with it. This was done to learn about the text and the practices of using it as recommended by DeVault and McCoy (2006, p. 385). They indicate that IE researchers, in general, are after the following:

1. How the text comes to this informant and where it goes after the informants is done with it
2. What the informant needs to know in order to use the text (create it, respond to it, fill it out, and so on)
3. What the informant does with, for, and on account of the text
4. How this text intersects with and depends on other texts and textual processes as sources of information, generators of conceptual frames, as authorizing texts, and so on
5. The conceptual schema that organizes the text and its competent reading

3.5.3 Fine-Tuning the Findings

In fine-tuning the findings, I evaluated the construct validity within the specific context of Naganeupseong, South Korea. According to Campbell (1970), construct validity "refers to the observed match between a set of observations and the theoretical construct it purports to measure" (as cited in Handwerker, 2001, p. 183). In Handwerker's (2001) words, validity consists of "a relationship between the definitions of specific mental constructions and specific observations" (p. 183). In this respect, I adopted the multi-method approach and used comparative analysis to ensure my ethnographic fieldwork as a scientific pursuit. Through the use of IE, this research examined 'how things work' by documenting local, everyday lived experiences and practices and linking those experiences to broader macro structures (ruling relations). By incorporating and integrating the findings from each method (participant

observation, institutional texts, and semi-structured interviews), I was able to not only provide holistic and multi-level explanations for the given cultural context, but also to construct validity and verify the cultural reliability of my research. This process eventually led me to gain intimate insight and to construct a valid interpretation of the findings from a holistic perspective, a ‘meta-inference’ (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2006).

Further, this procedure of fine-tuning the findings directed me to "identify, describe, and name cultures by reference to their distinctive configurations of cognition, emotion, and behavior, and to look for explanations for distinctive cultural configurations in the historical, regional, and global processes that shape the experiences of individuals and lead them to create, maintain, and change the cultures in which they participate" (Handwerker, 2001, p. 23). In this regard, substantial focus was placed on how experiential truth or reality (rather than objective truth or reality) can be re-conceptualized or re-embodied through various individuals’ knowledge, experiences and interpretations (Park, 2010).

In general, data analysis in IE does not follow a linear process but rather is an iterative and inductive process. According to Ranero (2011), it begins

> by understanding the everyday but quickly moves to understanding how these activities are coordinated by texts, finding interconnections among texts, identifying [and mapping] ruling relations, and making evident invisible issues and dynamics. As discoveries are made the researcher moves back and forth between understanding the everyday and analyzing the institutional texts. Frequently the processes overlap or occur simultaneously (p. 57).

Smith (2005) suggests that "the institutional ethnographer ... must find the generalizing and standardizing processes in the ethnographic data, in people's local practices, including language" (p. 135), and adds that an interview transcript can be 'reassembled' to locate an organization of knowledge in which the experiences of the interviewee are "embedded but not wholly visible" (p. 143; as cited in Walby, 2013, p. 144).

According to DeVault and McCoy (2006), institutional ethnographers adopt different kinds of analyses based on their research purpose: "Some use their data to map out complex institutional chains of action; other describe the mechanics of text-based forms of knowledge, elaborate the conceptual schemata of ruling discourses, or explicate how people's lived experience takes shape within institutional relations" (p. 39). In this research, I analyzed the collected data in ways to examine how people living in Naganeupseong perceive and experience cultural change in the process of World Heritage making, as well as how their lived experiences and performed activities are being coordinated and shaped by institutional relations. In other words, by adopting the IE approach, I worked to construct and connect both the micro and macro level perspectives in understanding the local context. I also explored how these two levels are intertwined and linked in the process of tourism development and global WHS designation.

Through the process of integration and triangulation, text data obtained (i.e., field notes, secondary data, interview transcripts) were analyzed and interpreted using a “thematic content analysis” approach (Green & Thorogood, 2004). Thematic analysis is a descriptive and interpretative qualitative approach (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013) defined as a “constructionist method, which examines the ways in which events, realities, meanings, experiences and so on are the effects of a range of discourses operating within society” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 81). Willis (2007) states that thematic analysis is a "nonlinear, recursive (iterative) process in which data collection, data analysis, and interpretation occur and influence each other" (p. 202). It has been suggested that thematic analysis, as a flexible and useful research tool, provides a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013). In tourism research, thematic analysis has been frequently adopted to reveal the central and meaningful themes or dimensions of 1) tourists'

motivations, perceptions and experiences in the context of cultural tourism (McIntosh, 2004; Ryan & Higgins, 2006), 2) locals' perceptions regarding tourism development and their sense of place (Campelo et al., 2014), as well as 3) destination image (Ryan & Cave, 2005) and tourism labor research (Ladkin, 2011).

Consideration for ethical concerns was also important when writing and finalizing the ethnographic research. In order to avoid potential risks of doing harm to the informants, it was important to establish sufficient rapport and trust with them by clearly sharing my research intentions and goals. Moreover, developing close relationships and maintaining long-term relationships with the participants after leaving the field, as well as continuously crosschecking the results with the informants helped to lessen the misreading and misinterpreting participants' comments. The informants' identities are protected and their anonymity preserved, and findings are reported at aggregate levels to respect participant confidentiality.

Overall, by focusing on the collected during fieldwork and by incorporating theory and methods, the process of global/local interaction in the context of Naganeupseong was explored and examined in a creative and imaginative way of learning and knowing.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

4.1 History of Naganeupseong

4.1.1 Official Narrative of Naganeupseong

The official narrative of Naganeupseong represents more than 600 years of cultural history dating from the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and showcases the area's well preserved cultural landscape and traditional lifestyle (see **Figure 4-1** and **Table 4-1**).

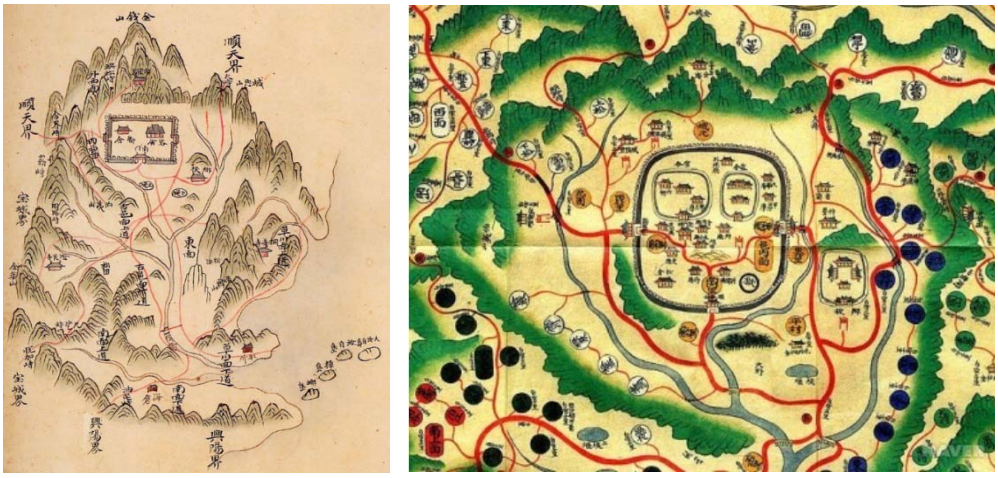


Figure 4-1. Historical maps of Naganeupseong (18C) representing its geographic location surrounded by natural landscapes

Table 4-1. Brief history of Naganeupseong

Year	Main Event
940 (Goryeo Period)	Changed its name to Nagan-gun
1397 (Chosun Dynasty)	Kim Bin-gil raised an army against Japanese intruders, built the earthen fortress, and defeated the enemy
1424 (Chosun Dynasty)	Built stone fortress
1626 to 1628 (Chosun Dynasty)	Magistrate Lim Gyeong-eop changed the earthen fortress to a stone fortress
June 14, 1983	Designated as Historical Site No. 302 (Nagan folk village)
March 29, 2011	Listed as a potential UNESCO World Heritage Site

- Source: Naganeupseong Information Center (Brochure)

The Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (2011) specifically describes the official narrative of Naganeupseong's history:

> Naganeupseong, a historic village located in the Southwest province of Korea, is noted for its well-preserved cultural landscape and traditional lifestyle continued from the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Known as a former administrative town ... the folk village has preserved the crucial elements of a traditional town village, which includes a fortress, government buildings and private houses. Its traditional folklore and natural landscape add to the village's value as an outstanding historic town in Korea ... According to the geography section of the annals of King Sejong (*Sejong sillok jiriji*), there were 96 town fortresses (*eupseong*) in 334 villages. Most of them, however, were dismantled under the Japanese colonial rule from 1910 to 1945, and only a few fortresses including Naganeupseong survive in their original condition. Amongst them Naganeupseong is regarded as the best among its kind with its well-preserved overall landscape with the fortress, government office and housings ... The village created inside the fortress was a venue for the local government's ruling and people's life since the Joseon Dynasty. A record shows that it was populated with 950 people of 337 households during the Joseon Dynasty. Afterwards, the population was reduced to 820 in 199 households, and currently 288 people live in 90 households. (pp. 4-5).

In addition, Korean media describes Naganeupseong as a place where cultural traditions and built environment are well preserved and maintained from Joseon Dynasty: "Naganeupseong well preserves the original shape of the town village of the Joseon Dynasty, and residents are maintaining intangible heritage handed down from their ancestors" (Joe, March 4, 2011, p. 2); "Naganeupseong possesses 1,500 years of history. Among 108 households, there are no tile-roofed houses. Residents all live in thatch-roofed houses and they are still maintaining their civilian culture and lifestyle" (Son & Kim, Febuary 11, 2010, p. Week&2). In addition, Jung (October 10, 2009, p. N1) indicates that "Apart from other artificial folk villages, Naganeupseong is well maintaining both its tangible and intangible heritage from the Joseon Dynasty."

4.1.2 Beyond the Official Narrative

4.1.2.1 Restoration and Development Project from 1983

Throughout its history, the cultural and built environment of Naganeupseong have changed and altered over time. Indeed, some parts of the built environment have been damaged or destroyed, and its cultural use has changed. For example, the governmental buildings (e.g., Dongheon (Old Governmental Office) and Naeah (Official Residents)) and main entrance gates of Naganeupseong (e.g., West, East, and South gate) were destroyed, and one of the remaining governmental buildings (Guest House) was used as Nagan elementary school until 1985 (see **Figure 4-2**). Moreover, some private houses have been recently built (1970s) for the purpose of the present, and residents often have remodeled or reconstructed their houses for living convenience purposes. According to a 1985 investigative report conducted by the local government, Seongju-gun[8], only 46 out of 199 houses of Naganeupseong have maintained their original condition from when they were first built during the 18th or19th century (see **Table 4-3**).

In order to restore and preserve Naganeupseong in its original condition, as well as to promote tourism for the regional economy, a massive restoration and reconstruction process was initiated by the local government during the 1980s. Accordingly, Naganeupseong experienced a drastic cultural change since 1983 when the site was nominated as a traditional folk village, designated as Historical Site No. 302 of South Korea. During the restoration process, Naganeupseong and the residents living inside the fortress experienced significant changes in the area's physical and cultural environment.

[8] Seongju-gun was a local county that governed Naganeupseong from 1949 to 1995. However, since 1995, Seongju-gun has been merged and integrated to Suncheon City, which city is currently governing and managing Naganeupseong.

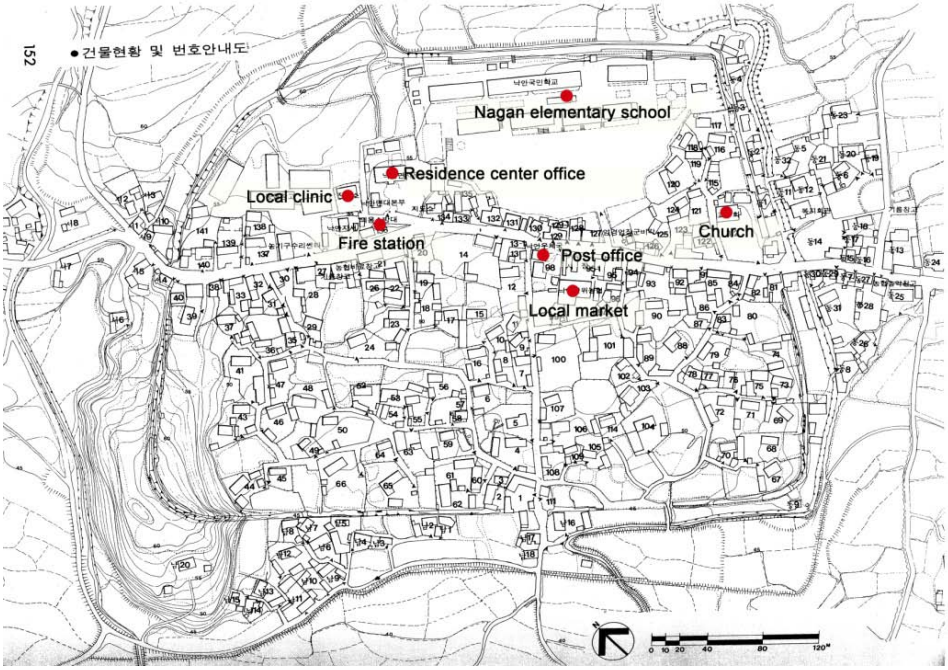


Figure 4-2. Map of Naganeupseong in 1985. Drafted by the author based on the map collected from the local government

The existing houses were evaluated and classified as A, B, C, D by the local government (Seoungju-gun) based on their present condition (see **Figure 4-3**). Based on the evaluation, houses classified as A or B were subjected to maintenance and preservation with only minor restoration, if necessary. C class houses, depending on their condition, were subjected to major restoration for residence or deconstruction, while D class houses were subjected to demolition without further discussion (**Table 4-2**). Accordingly, residents who lived in houses classified as C or D were largely forced to relocate.

Table 4-2. Evaluation and classification of existing houses in Naganeupseong

Classification	Criterion
A	Houses that maintain original shape and structure without any alternation. Some old or damaged parts should to be restored and preserved as important folk data for residence, as well as for exhibition.
B	Houses with minor alternations but still maintaining their traditional shape and appearance. Should be restored and maintained for residence.
C	Houses with major alternations but maintaining their traditional structure. May be restored and maintained for residence depending on their condition.
D	Houses built with modern materials without any traditional characteristics. Should be deconstructed/demolished.

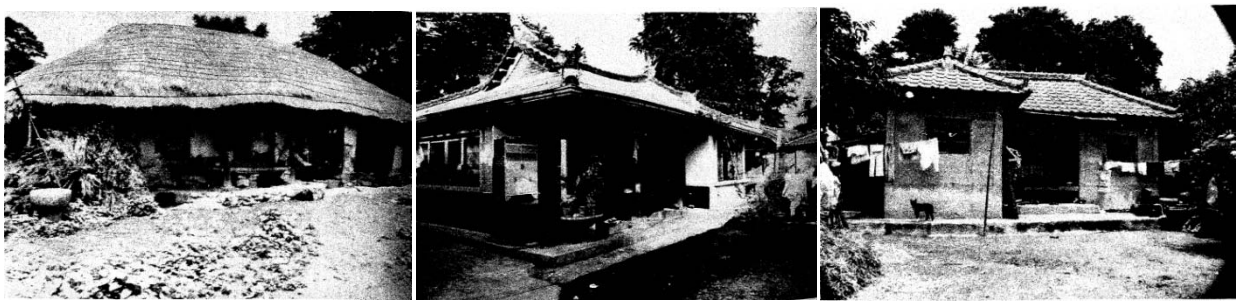


Figure 4-3. Examples of A, C, and D class houses (respectively from left to right) (Seongju-gun, 1985, pp. 154-156)

According to the investigation report of Naganeupseong conducted by the local government (Seoungju-gun, 1985), of the 199 houses evaluated, 46 were evaluated as A class, 46 as B class, 34 as C class, and 73 as D class (see **Figure 4-4** and **Table 4-3**). Among the 107 houses classified as C or D, 101 houses (including the commercial sector) were either moved or demolished. As a result, 592 residents among a total of 820 residents who were living in Naganeupseong until 1983 were relocated during the restoration and development process. Currently, only 228 residents remain inside the village.

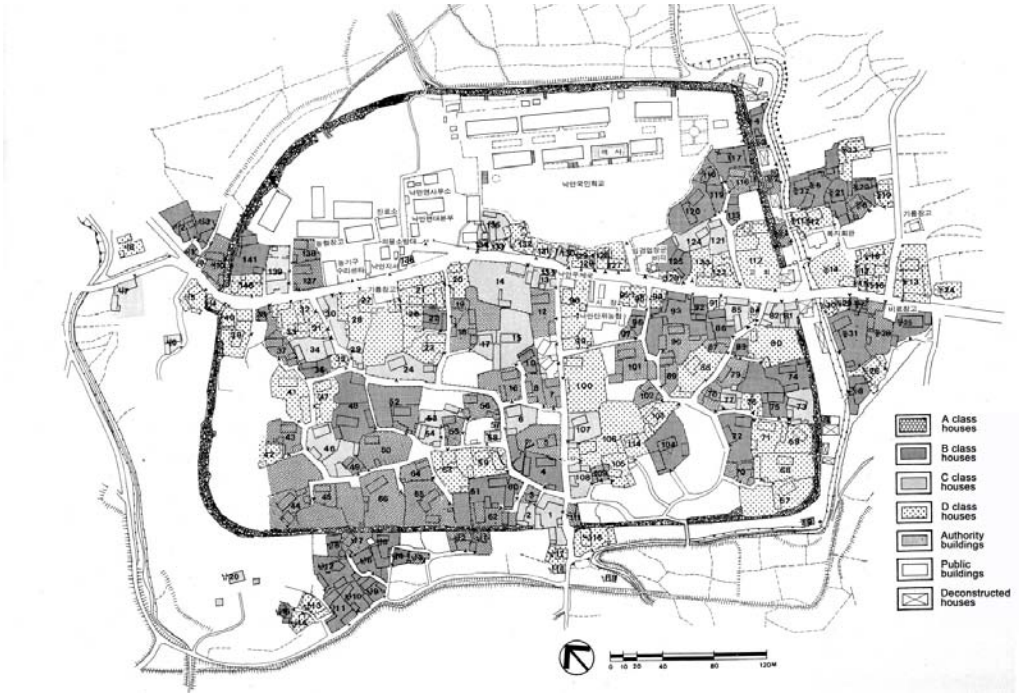


Figure 4-4. Built environment of Naganeupseong in 1985 (Seongju-gun, 1985, p. 153)

Table 4-3. Number of categorized (or ranked, classified) houses based on its present condition

Area/Classification		**A**	**B**	**C**	**D**	**Total**
Inside the fortress		36	24	30	50	140
Outside	Eastern area	5	10	1	13	29
	Western area	4	9	1	6	20
	Southern area	1	3	2	4	10
Total		46	46	34	73	199

- Source: Seongju-gun (1985). *Naganeupseong folk village: Detailed investigation report of present condition*. Summarized and categorized by the author based on the information provided in the report

In 2016, 288 residents (98 households) live inside the village (**Table 4-4**). However, the number of current residents in Naganeupseong may not be accurate due to the lack of actual investigation by the management office. During an interview with an official of the management office (O1, male, 40s), he indicated that they currently do not know the exact number of residents living inside the village but are planning to conduct an actual population census in the near future. Indeed, the current number of residents is estimated based on resident registration (which may not be actuate) and not based on an actual investigation practice.

Table 4-4. Number of residents based on their residence area in 2014

Residence area	Dongnae-ri (East district)	Seonae-ri (West district)	Namnae-ri (South district)	Total
Number of households/residents	36/90	12/28	50/110	98/228

- Source: drafted by the author based on the information collected from the management office (Naganeupseong Management Office, 2015a, p. 2)

In addition, among the remaining 98 houses, residents are actually living in only 79 houses, while the other 19 houses are now owned and managed by the local government and are mainly used for exhibition as tourist experience centers. Moreover, 9 houses are designated as important cultural properties for their recognition of historical significance and are currently managed and preserved by the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (**Table 4-5**).

Table 4-5. List of important cultural properties in Naganeupseong

Name		Cultural Property	Area (m^2)
1	Ui-Jun Park's house	Important Folk Material No. 92	64.30
2	Gyu-Cheol Yang's house	Important Folk Material No. 93	39.96
3	Han-Ho Lee's house	Important Folk Material No. 94	33.35
4	Dea-Ja Kim's house	Important Folk Material No. 95	56.46
5	Du-Yeol Joo's house	Important Folk Material No. 96	44.03
6	Chang-Wu Choi's house	Important Folk Material No. 97	62.98
7	Seon-Jun Choi's house	Important Folk Material No. 98	26.15
8	So-A Kim's house	Important Folk Material No. 99	64.68
9	Hyeong-Du Gwak's house	Important Folk Material No. 100	91.93

- Source: Naganeupseong Management Office (2015a, p. 3)

During the restoration process, the major residence convenience facilities that function as an essential part of the town village such as Nagan County residence center office, local markets (commercial sectors), elementary school, fire station, and post office, were relocated to outside the village, while the damaged or destroyed official governmental buildings (old government office and official residents) and main entrance gates were restored to their original shape (**Table 4-6**, **Figure 4-5**). In addition, new residence areas and commercial sectors were constructed and built outside the village for the relocated residents.

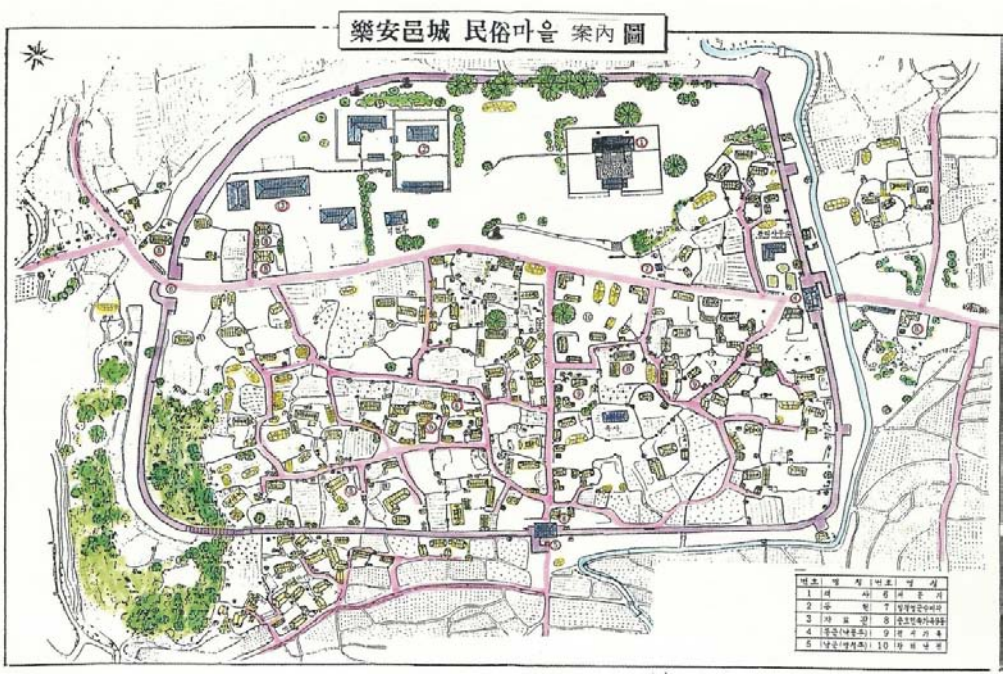


Figure 4-5. Current map of Naganeupseong (Song, 2015, p. 26)

Table 4-6. Restoration process of Naganeupseong

Year	Major event
June 14, 1983	- Designated as historic site no. 302 (traditional folk village) - Local administrative offices were relocated outside the village
1988-1989	- Compensation and relocation process began
1984-1996	- Major historical architectures were restored (e.g., fortress, Dongheon (old governmental office), West, South, and East gates)
1992-1996	- Total of 87 traditional houses were restored

- Source: drafted by the author based on the information from the folk exhibition hall in Naganeupseong

4.1.2.2 The Process of Compensation and Relocation of the Residents

> During the development process, residents living in houses classified as A or B were forced to maintain their lives in the village, while some residents of C or D class houses were largely subjected to be compensated for relocation. However, conflicts and tensions between the local government and the residents occurred in terms of the potential inconvenience living in a historic site, as well as the critical issues regarding compensation and resettlement expenses. Some residents even held a demonstration against the development process. (LR1, male, 70s)

According to the honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s)[9], an actual village chief during the 1980s, the restoration process led by the local government wasn't able to be completed as initially expected due to a variety of demands and conflicts among residents. For instance, the commercial sectors that were originally located alongside the main street prior to 1983 were largely classified as C or D and were marked for demolition. However, some residents requested more compensation and didn't cooperate with the local government during the development and relocation process. To move the development process forward, rather than forcing them to relocate and despite their house classifications, the local government decided to rebuild their houses and unofficially let them do what they wished. Consequently, some of the street vendors continued to operate inside the village while the local government choose to turn a

[9] He is currently employed by the local government and receives monthly wages for sharing and distributing his historical knowledge, and for making contributions in maintaining and preserving the village.

blind eye to the situation, a situation that eventually brought further conflict and tension between the residents.

On the other hand, the residents who remained in the village had two basic concerns: 1) living in a historic site under strict (translocal) regulations for maintaining their built environment in original condition, and 2) living inside a tourist bubble being gazed upon by tourists on a daily basis. Indeed, some residents were against the development process of Naganeupseong becoming a tourist destination. They didn't wish to be "a monkey in a zoo" (LR3, male, 40s) gazed upon by tourists and made public complaints to the local government. During this period, the Naganeupseong Preservation Society was established to better and more effectively represent and incorporate the locals' voices, their demands and needs, in the decision-making process.

As a carrot policy, in order to mitigate and resolve the complaints of the locals, the local government decided to place three traditional restaurants inside the village, giving the ownership and operation rights to the residents living inside the village (**Figure 4-6**).

Figure 4-6. Three traditional restaurants located inside the village. Photos by the author.

These restaurants, by distributing the profits to the local residents, were intended to provide additional economic benefits to compensate them for the inconvenience of living in a historic site, a tourist bubble. Although these restaurants, indeed, have brought significant economic benefits to the locals, they have also become another of the major sources of conflict

and tension among the residents. That is, the benefits from the restaurants simultaneously began to stimulate and evoke various conflicts among the different stakeholders (e.g., local government, residents who remained in the village and who were relocated, and commercial sectors), especially over the manner of distribution. These issues will be further discussed in detail in the following sections.

In addition, some residents who first agreed to compensation and relocation started to change their minds. After witnessing the increasing number of tourists and the corresponding increase in tourism revenue they wished to remain in the village to participate in the tourism industry operating as street vendors (**Figure 4-7**). They actively demanded the local government build their new houses inside the village. The local government mainly accepted their requests since they considered it the best option to quickly resolve the present conflict and obstacles, and to move the development process forward.

Figure 4-7. Street vendors alongside the main street selling tourist products such as souvenirs, snacks and ice creams. Photos by the author.

However, the honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s) indicated that the local government should have done the restoration and development process as initially planned during 1980s:

> Back in the 1980s, if the local government had conducted their restoration and development project as planned, the cost for the project would have been only about $4.8

> million as estimated by the market price back in 1988. However, now it is impossible to go through that process again [compensating and relocating residents]. It will probably cost more than $48 million since the land value and the market price have significantly increased compared to the past ... Moreover, residents are not willing to move out anymore for them having considerable monetary benefits from the tourism industry, which compensate their inconvenience living in a historic site, a tourist destination.

On the other hand, those who agreed to compensation were largely relocated. They currently live outside the fortress in tile-roofed houses (**Figure 4-8**). Indeed, most of the residents living close by outside the village are those who originally lived inside the fortress prior to the development process in the 1980s.

Figure 4-8. Tile-roofed houses where relocated residents largely live. Photos by the author.

4.1.3 History of Restaurants Located Inside the Village

As mentioned previously, having traditional restaurants inside the village was not part of the initial restoration plan and development process in the 1980s. However, as a carrot policy, in order "to resolve and compensate the locals' demands and complaints of living inconvenience, as well as to provide tourist convenience," the local government decided to provide three restaurants inside the village and gave the operational right to the residents (Song, 2013, p. 3). While the restaurants were owned by the local government, the Naganeupseong Preservation Society was actually in charge of managing them and distributing the profits to the locals. According to the current director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s):

> Back in the 1990s, 40% of total profits from the restaurants were used for the public interest, in ways to promote tourism events and festivals and to mitigate and resolve the potential inconvenience of the local residents living in/around the village, such as waste and traffic congestion.

However, the local government decided to open the management of the restaurants to a system of private contracts. They took bids and began contracting with private individuals who had made the highest bids and who were mostly outsiders from Suncheon City. This decision was taken mainly because tourists who were unsatisfied with the price and quality of foods and services of the restaurants had made numerous public complaints to the local government, the legal owner of the restaurants. The complaints were embarrassing and were considered to significantly disrupt the city officials' everyday work. Accordingly, the local government decided to give operational rights to the private sector as a way to step away from tourist complaints. As a result, the profits from the restaurants went to the private individuals and were no longer distributed to the local residents. Indeed, the initial intention and purpose of the restaurants, which was for public interest and support of the local residents, faded and vanished.

Public complaints by tourists to the local government significantly decreased after the change in management, but another critical issue and concern emerged soon after: competition. Since the restaurants were now operated by private individuals, they began to compete for more tourists, touting for their own business on the street. The undesirable competition between the restaurants was considered to provide an uncomfortable atmosphere for tourists trying to have and engage in an authentic cultural experience during their visit to Naganeupseong, and so the local government gave operational rights back to the Naganeupseong Preservation Society.

However, the operation rights reverted to an open bid system once again in 2009. The former director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society had major conflicts with the local government, and the local residents distrusted how profits were distributed. Consequently, again,

the local government deprived Naganeupseong Preservation Society of operational rights. In addition, according to the management office, the rent fee for the private sector to operate the restaurants is currently $120,000 for a 3-year contract. The collected rent fees are included in the annual budget of the local government and are not being distributed to the local residents.

Participants hesitated somewhat to provide detailed information regarding the specific reason for the conflicts surrounding the restaurants, since they thought that sharing such a sensitive issue might only give a negative impression of themselves. The director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s) also hesitated to talk in detail about the reason for the current conflicts within Naganeupseong because he thought that doing so would only be like "spitting into the wind." However, it was possible for the author to gather some sense of the conflicts from the media coverage:

> The restaurants have been managed by Naganeupseong Preservation Society. However, from 2009, the operational rights of the restaurants were given to the private from the open bid process due to the unclear financial and accounting process of Naganeupseong Preservation Society ... Previously, physical assault have occurred between stakeholders surrounding the operation issues of the restaurants, and some officials of the management office have resigned for embezzling the national fund from manipulating the official documents. The local residents are worrying for the possibilities that these current issues and conflicts might have negative impact on the reputation of Naganeupseong as a whole. (Ha, April 8, 2015)

Currently, in 2015, among the three restaurants two are being managed by the private sector, and one is managed by the Naganeupseong Preservation Society. Indeed, Naganeupseong Preservation Society actually participated in the open bid and achieved the operational right. However, that restaurant was temporarily closed during October, 2015. The author was able to learn the reason during interviews with the director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s) and the director of the Commercial Center Cooperative of Naganeupseong

(LR3, male, 40s). It seems that one resident sued the Naganeupseong Preservation Society for making an unfair contract during the selection procedure of the open bid. The resident made a disclosure that an official of the Naganeupseong management office illegally helped the Naganeupseong Preservation Society by writing an application form for them that possibly gave them an advantage to win the open bid. Accordingly, the application process was under investigation and thus the restaurant was temporarily closed. The local newspaper specifically reported the current conflicts surrounding the operation of the restaurants:

> In Naganeupseong, there existed continuous conflicts among residents regarding the operation process of the restaurants. Recently, in December, 2014, one resident disclosed to the Cultural Heritage Administration that an official of Naganeupseong Management Office wrote the application form for Naganeupseong Preservation Society during the open bidding process. Sequentially, the office for Government Policy Coordination of Korea inspected the case in February, 2015 and suspected the official guilty. However, the local government didn't take any further action. In fact, the official was acquitted on charges of giving advantage to the Naganeupseong Preservation Society in the bidding process ... Consequently, the distrust between the local residents and the management office has been intensified. (Lee, September 23, 2015)

The profits from the restaurants are currently benefiting the individuals who possess the operational rights and are not being distributed to the local residents as it was first intended. In addition, the kitchen staff are mainly outsiders, and only a few are local residents:

> The owners often employ outsiders who have relationships prior to coming into the village and who suit their taste and preference for working together. In fact, anyone can work in the village as long as they are citizens of Suncheon City. (NR2, Female, 60s)

The existence of restaurants inside the village has also stimulated significant conflicts with the residents of relocated commercial sectors concerning their interest and profits from tourism (**Figure 4-9**). The conflicts and different perspectives between interest groups and

stakeholders regarding the existence of the restaurants will be further discussed in following sections.

Figure 4-9. Relocated commercial sector outside the village. Photos by the author.

4.1.4 History of Isolation and Communication

With their hometown designated as a Historical Site, the local residents were not able to alter their own private houses, neither the exterior nor the interior. This restriction led to significant challenges and discontent as many local residents reported experiencing disconnection from their family members and friends because they hesitated and avoided visiting the locals' houses. This was partially due to the traditional toilets, inconvenient and outdated kitchens and the barns. This issue was critical because residents felt lonely and isolated from the outside world. Indeed, many residents complained that this regulation violated their constitutional basic human rights and the right to pursue happiness. In consideration of these concerns, in 2006 the local government allowed residents to remodel and alter the interior of their homes, but not the exterior:

> Back in the 1990s, residents continuously made public complaints to the local government that the regulations and restrictions in managing their own private houses are violating constitutional basic human rights and right to pursue happiness. In response to these complaints, the local government, in 2006, decided to allow and permit residents to make necessary alternations only to the interior, but not exterior in order to ensure the resident's quality of life. (R1, female, 70s)

As a result of this decision, the residents were able to remodel the interior of their private houses, not only for their own convenience but also for tourist accommodations (**Figure 4-10**). In fact, the operation of guesthouses for tourist accommodations in Naganeupseong largely began in 2006. As a consequence, a floating population and the inflow of outsiders to the village increased, which provided the village new vitality and life. By 2015, among 108 private houses in total, 42 houses were officially operating as guesthouses.

Figure 4-10. Examples of remodeled and altered interior of private houses. Photos by the author.

4.1.5 Current Representation of Naganeupseong

The Naganeupseong website homepage (http://nagan.suncheon.go.kr) represents the site as a place "Where history, folk heritage and ecology still prevail." According to the Naganeupseong tourism guide brochure, the catchphrase of the site is "Suncheon City Nagan fortress: Beautiful path, meeting the past and present" (**Figure 4-11**). The brochure describes the site as:

> The village was a main planned town established during the Chosun Dynasty. Boasting over 600 years of history, the village well-preserves cultural properties, natural resources (including ancient trees), and traditional folk heritage items (including Pansori [Korean traditional percussion music], and Gayageum [Korean zither] Byeongchang [Chorus]). A few hundred residents are still living in the village.

The brochure also provides general information about the site such as location, cultural properties, history, as well as information for tourism (**Figure 4-11**). A guide map provided on the backside of the brochure indicates main attractions for the tourist experience and suggests

site-seeing routes through the village such as 'the course inside the fortress', 'castle road course', 'experience center course', and 'deep-rooted trees museum course.' It also provides information about other nearby attractions (**Figure 4-12**). Indeed, the site is largely represented as a tourist destination or a cultural theme park where tourists can experience the well-preserved historical culture and built environment of the past.

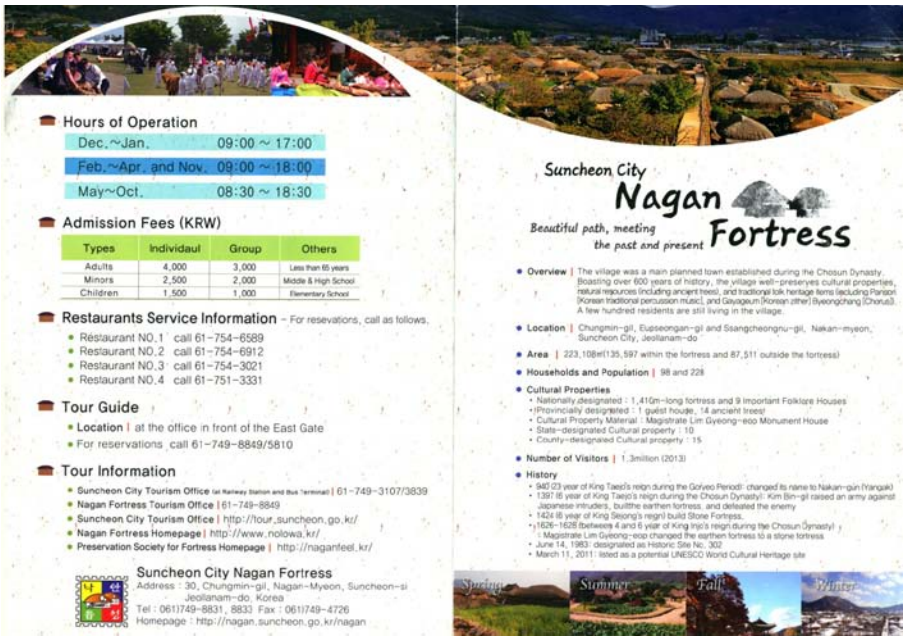


Figure 4-11. Naganeupseong tourism guide brochure (front page): General information

Figure 4-12. Naganeupseong tourism guide brochure (back page): Guide map

4.2 Living in Naganeupseong

4.2.1 The Management Structure/System of Naganeupseong

Naganeupseong is currently managed by the local government (Suncheon City and Naganeupseong management office), while the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea has responsibility for and is in charge of preserving and maintaining cultural properties. The Naganeupseong management office, which is located inside the village, is an independent and specialized division of the local government (Suncheon city) that largely focuses on the process of tourism development and management of Naganeupseong (**Figure 4-13**). When residents happen to need to repair their private houses, for example, they first need to contact the management office about their concerns, and the management office, if they decide the problem is relevant, is expected to consult with the Cultural Heritage Administration for approval. Indeed, the local management office has the primary responsibility for the site management and plays a mediating role between the residents and the Cultural Heritage Administration.

Figure 4-13. Naganeupseong Management Office. Photo by the author.

The Division of Art & Culture of Suncheon City office plays a major role in preparing for WHS designation. An official of the Art & Culture division (O4, male, 40s) explained,

> While Naganeupseong Management office mainly focuses on the current development process, such as tourism programs, events, and festivals, the Division of Art & Culture has commitment to develop a long-term master plan and to prepare for WHS designation in 2020. Preparing and developing further restoration projects in Naganeupseong, as well as long-term master plans are considered an essential part for WHS designation. Indeed, most of the projects we are doing are focused aiming for 2020 WHS designation.

After the restoration and development process in the 1980s, 70% of the area of Naganeupseong was designated as public land owned and managed by the local government. The other 30% are private lands owned by the local residents. Part of the public property includes some of the traditional houses that are now managed by the local government and used for exhibitions and tourist experience centers. Currently, there are a total of 30 exhibition and tourist experience centers in Naganeupseong (Naganeupseong Management Office, 2015a). Among them, 6 local residents are employed by the local government while the other staff are skilled outsiders mainly from Suncheon City who work in the experience center exhibiting traditional crafts such as straw craft, Korean paper craft, natural dyeing, blacksmithing, and traditional music (**Figure 4-14**).

Figure 4-14. Examples of tourist experience centers. Photos by the author.

4.2.2 Local Residents' Source of Income

In Naganeupseong, a rural village, residents maintain a strong relationship with the cultivated agricultural land. Most of the residents have their own private plot in/around the village and

cultivate their land on a daily basis (**Figure 4-15**). The locals' traditional lifestyle largely aligns with farming activities, and their major source of income comes from cultivating their land, while tourism profits provide additional income.

> When having a good harvest, we earn about $2,000 monthly through the retail market. This is our primary source of income with having additional income from tourism industry. (R2, male, 60s)

Figure 4-15. Agricultural land in/around Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

The restoration and development process of Naganeupseong, however, has bought significant economic growth and provided additional income to the local residents, especially for those who remain inside the village. The relocated residents are largely being excluded from the benefits of the development process. One of the relocated residents complained:

> We [the locals living outside the fortress] are all legitimate local residents who originally lived inside the fortress prior to 1983. We were largely relocated during the development process, supporting and cooperating with the local government. Some of those who still remain inside the village are the ones who weren't supportive, making conflicts by requesting the local government for more compensation. However, we are not getting any of the benefits from the development process, nor are our voices being heard by the management office in the decision-making process. (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

In 2015, 30% of the tourist entrance fee to the village was distributed to the local residents to assist with expenses such as fire insurance, TV license fee, children's education up to college (different rates are applied between public and private college), and environmental maintenance. The remainder of the 30% is equally distributed annually to the local residents, about $600-$700 per household (total of 80 households inside the village). The remaining 70% of the entrance fee feeds the local government's (Suncheon City) annual budget.

Prior to 2014, however, the residents' share of the entrance fee was 40%. The rate decreased to 30% in 2015 when the entrance fee increased from $2 to $4. In 2014, the total tourism revenue for Naganeupseong was $1.13 million, which included the entrance fees ($1 million) and the facilities rental fees ($0.13 million). Among the total revenue, 40% ($ 0.56 million) was distributed to the local residents to compensate for the potential expenses of maintaining and managing their cultural properties. During the decision-making process to increase the entrance fee and change the distribution rate, significant conflict and tension emerged between the residents and the local government. This issue will be further discussed in detail in the following section.

4.2.3 Inconvenience of Living in a Historic Site

One day in November, 2015, when this author was sitting in front of a guesthouse, a little boy pointed at me and shouted from the top of the fortress wall: "Mom! Look at that! There is a person really living there!" The boy seemed amazed with the presence of real people living in a traditional house, and his family started to photograph me. For me, it was a weird and uncomfortable experience being gazed upon by tourists (see **Figure 4-16**).

Figure 4-16. Tourists looking down into the private houses from the top of the fortress wall. Photo by the author.

The owner of the guesthouse (R3, male, 70s) came with his wife to the village from Seoul 17 years ago to take care of his aging mother (who was 101 years old in 2015). When the author interviewed him, he said,

> I first asked my mother to come to Seoul and live with us but she didn't wanted to do so. So my wife and I decided to come here 17 years ago to take care of her. For the first 3 years when I came to the village, it was really difficult to adjust to this rural village because I had lived in Seoul for a long time. I suffered from depression back then, regretting my decision to come here. However, I gradually got better. In Seoul, people compete in everyday life, and I had to make significant efforts to earn money for my family. However, here in Naganeupseong, I feel much more comfortable while putting aside my greed. I now feel comfortable cultivating agricultural land, privately owned by my mother.

His wife (female, 70s) added,

> When I first came here, it was really embarrassing and uncomfortable to encounter tourists fingering at me and photographing me. I felt like they are looking at me like a monkey in a zoo. But I now feel much more comfortable and I even enjoy having conversations with the tourists. It's fun. I think I'm adjusted to the given circumstances here in Naganeupseong.

The topic of living conditions, however, evoked frequent complaints from the residents interviewed. They explained that there is nothing they can do to their own private houses. Indeed,

they felt keenly inconvenienced living in a historic site, especially in terms of maintaining their private houses. In order to make any changes, they must first receive approval from the local government, which is a rather complex and time-consuming process.

> We can't change traditional windows to glass windows because it is regulated by the Cultural Heritage Administration. Although illegal, residents often conduct partial alternations and remodeling. (R4, male, 70s)

> My house was first built in 1973. The construction company back then did a poor job and I'm experiencing inconvenience living in this house. However, now it's hard to fix. (R7, female, 80s, living alone)

> The heating system in the kitchen is not working anymore but I can't fix it. Although inconvenient, there is nothing I can do with it. I need approval from the Cultural Heritage Administration to repair it. I recently submitted an application to the management office so that they can get approval from the Cultural Heritage Administration. However, there is no response for months. The process takes forever, which makes me irritated. It really is inconvenient to live here in a traditional village. It's even too cold to live in traditional houses during the winter. (The house was one of the cultural properties, house of Park Uijun) (R6, female, 60s)

> Water leaks from the roof because of the short eaves. However, the management office prohibits us from repairing it because it is considered to alter the original shape of the house. They said that if I repair it without their permission, they will stop supporting me with maintenance expenses ... I should have constructed long eaves in the first place [in 1980s]. Now, it is impossible to repair it. (R11, female, 60s) (see **Figure 4-17**)

Figure 4-17. Living inconvenience due to the regulation of cultural properties. Photos by the author.

Local residents also discussed encountering “untouchable tourists” – those who visit and get away with poor behavior, making it very inconvenient to live in a historic tourist destination. Accordingly, when touring the village one will see many houses locking and closing their doors to prevent tourists from coming in (**Figure 4-18**).

> Tourists break into our house and look around. Some even use our private restroom. It's crazy. They have no respect for us. (R16, female, 60s)

> Mindless tourists are everywhere, looking into our houses and taking pictures without asking for permission. It is really annoying and distractive. (R15, male, 80s)

Figure 4-18. Locked doors of private houses: "No entrance without owner's permission." Photos by the author.

In addition, with Naganeupseong being a tourist destination, the management office seems to focus on tourist comfort and convenience more than that of the locals. For example, one morning in August, 2015, before the village was open to tourists, the management office made an official announcement to the residents not to use the trash cans in/around the village because they were intended for tourist convenience:

> The trash cans located in/around the village are for tourist convenience, not for the local residents. You should follow the 'volume-rate waste disposal system.' Penalty fees will be charged to those locals who dispose wastes into those trash cans. Please dispose of your waste legally and appropriately by using pre-charged waste. (Naganeupseong Management Office announcement at 8am on Aug 28, 2015)

However, interestingly, some local residents rather enjoyed, or at least tried to enjoy, occasional interactions with tourists, especially during their spare time.

> I really enjoy encountering various kinds of visitors. It's really fun to meet new people and to talk with them. (R10, female, 70s)

> After farming in the early morning, the remaining time is mainly my leisure time. I enjoy looking at tourists and talking with them during that time. Although tourists, without my permit, sometimes break into my house to look around and have a rest, it's not a big concern to me. Most of the other houses are locking their doors for that reason, but I always leave the door open. I haven't got anything stolen so far. (R2, Male, 60s)

> It is often inconvenient to encounter tourists breaking into our house and asking questions. However, it's not a big deal because I'm now accustomed and adjusted to their behavior and the given circumstances. I rather try to enjoy such encounters. (R5, Female, 60s)

This amicable relationship between the local residents and tourists seems to be partially due to the distrust dynamics between various stakeholders living in/around Naganeupseong, which will be further discussed in detail in the following sections. But another contributing factor was the development of modern agriculture which enabled residents to have more leisure time, and which gave them more opportunity to participate in the tourism industry and get used to encountering and interacting with tourists.

> Farm working got much easier and more convenient due to the modern agricultural machines. Most of the residents only do farming from 5:30am [from the sunrise] to 9am, which gives them spare time during the rest of the day. With this time local residents often participate in the tourism industry in ways to earn additional income. (R9, male, 70s)

4.2.4 The Newcomers

An inflow of newcomers also characterizes the current landscape of Naganeupseong. Since outsiders are allowed to purchase houses and live in Naganeupseong, the inflow of newcomers looking for tourism benefits is increasing. Recently, 5 households of newcomers came into the village expecting potential profits from tourists. Indeed, they are mostly engaged in the tourism

industry, selling tourism products as street vendors (e.g., souvenirs, foods, crops, etc.), or operating guesthouses (see **Figure 4-19**).

> Approximately 80-90% of current residents are those who originally lived here in Naganeupseong, while others are newcomers [after the restoration process in 1983] who mostly engage in the tourism industry [street vendors]. (R8, female, 60s)

Figure 4-19. Street vendors in Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

With outsiders allowed to purchase property, the residents interviewed indicated that the sale process is often conducted unofficially between those who hold a close relationship, like friends and relatives.

> Trading private houses is mostly processed in secret and conducted unofficially between ones who know each other like friends and relatives. So no one knows about the actual process regarding when and how the trade contracts are being made. Recently, one household newly came into the village. They are now operating a street vendor in the village. (R16, female, 60s)

> Outsiders can also purchase private houses inside the village. However, houses are rarely available. Even when they are available, local residents make contracts secretly and unofficially so no one knows about the actual trade process regarding when, where, and how the trades are being made. (R3, Male, 70s)

> Nobody knows when or at what price the houses are being traded. In fact, there is no such thing like official price of the private land and houses here in Naganeupseong. Those are all kept in secret and the price is really flexible depending on who is trading with whom. (R6, female, 60s)

> Although there are currently no real estates, traditional private houses could be traded for a good price once they come onto the market. In fact, there are many people willing to

> live in the village. Selling private houses is kept in secret, and nobody really knows about the actual sale price. Only rumors exist about the price: some say $200,000 and some others say $300,000. As residents are getting older, the private houses will mainly be traded to newcomers, unless the resident's dependents or relatives are willing to come in and live here in Naganeupseong. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

4.2.5 Aging Society

Most of the residents are now in their 60s to 80s, mostly living with their spouses or alone, while their dependents have largely moved to the city for a job there. According to one participant (R11, female, 60s), who is living with her mother-in-law (94 years old), described the characteristics of the aging population of Naganeupseong and her concern about the future of the village:

> A week ago, my son's family moved to Suncheon city because they found a job there. They are now visiting here only on the weekends. Before moving, my grandson and granddaughter were the only babies in the village. In the village, it's now really hard and rare to find local kids and students. I'm now living with my mother in law and I have some feelings of emptiness ... It is certainly a big concern regarding how the village might turn out in the future without having young generations who care about the village.

Her son's family had been living in the house and were the “young generation” in the village, but now her house was the only guesthouse, among those visited, that had access to internet service. On the other hand, another resident (R1, female, 70s), whose husband passed away years ago, indicated that her only job in the village was to work in one of the restaurants. For her, working in the restaurant was the only pleasure of living in the village. It was not only because of the money but also for the opportunity of social interaction with other residents and tourists.

> Working in the restaurant is my only pleasure living here in Naganeupseong. I work from 7:30am to 6:30pm. While working there, I'm able to meet and talk with visitors and other local residents. This is my only diversion that I can do here. (R1, female, 70s)

Indeed, many of the older residents, especially the female residents who cannot bear hard labor or work their land often participate and engage in tourism, working in tourist experience centers or restaurants located inside the village. Some residents, however, worry about getting older and the possibility of becoming a burden to their dependents.

> I may live maximum 20 years or so from now. But I don't want to live too long because it will only be a burden to my kids. (R4, male, 70s)

This aging society has other problems as well. Elderly thatched roofing workers is a critical example. In the village, thatch roofing is an annual event that is mainly conducted from September to November. Although the local government provides the residents with monetary support for expenses to do the thatch roofing (the amount differs with the size of the house), the residents themselves have to search for and employ thatch roofers (**Figure 4-20**). However, it is getting difficult for the residents to find thatch roofers because only a few of them remain and their number is expected to further decrease in the future.

> To do the thatch roofing, it requires about 10 workers. However, it's getting more and more difficult to find thatch roofers. Most of the workers are now old, some have retired, and young people tend not to learn and work in thatch roofing. Searching for thatch roofers is one of my concerns that comes every year. (R12, female, 70s)

Figure 4-20. Thatch roofing in Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

Along the same lines, the number of students in/around Naganeupseong is currently decreasing (see **Table 4-7** and **Table 4-8**). Currently the number of students living inside

Naganeupseong include 2 elementary school students and one middle school student, and they are mostly the dependents of newcomers to the village. In/around Nagan County there are elementary and middle schools but no high school. The nearest high school is located in Suncheon City, and students must commute to school on a daily basis.

Table 4-7. Number of students in Nagan elementary school

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Number of students	125	106	101	82	77	79

- Source: drafted by the author based on the data collected from Nagan elementary school

Table 4-8. Number of students in Nagan middle school

Year	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Number of students	86	84	77	65	55	51

- Source: drafted by the author based on the data collected from Nagan middle school

Overall, the aging population is indeed a major critical issue in Naganeupseong. As the residents get older they tend to rely more on tourism profits. In addition to their benefits from entrance fees, they tend to get more engaged in the tourism industry by participating and working in restaurants and tourist experience centers, as well as by operating guesthouses.

4.3 Dynamics of Distrust

The local community of Naganeupseong as a whole was once well united, and citizens maintained good relationships among themselves. After the restoration and development process in the 1980s, however, the local community divided into multiple interest and stakeholder groups, such as the locals remaining inside the village, groups of relocated locals, business owners and workers, newcomers, as well as the local managers of the site. Individuals within groups often held conflicting interests and demands for the use of the cultural resources. Their positions depended on their different socio-demographic characteristics, including their relationship to tourism. They each had different perceptions of and perspectives toward the process of

development and management in Naganeupseong. Indeed, there were conflicts, tensions and distrust dynamics not only between different stakeholder groups but within them as well.

4.3.1 Between the Common Residents

Before 1983, when Naganeupseong was designated as Historic Site No. 302 of Korea, local residents maintained good relationship with each other and were well united as a whole. However, after the restoration and development process and becoming a national historic site, the number of residents significantly decreased from 820 to 288, and their relationships were largely broken down. This led to conflicts and tensions within the local community and led to many residents feeling nostalgic for the past:

> In the past, we did everything together helping each other. But now, we have feelings of wariness and distrust toward each other. (R11, female, 60s)

> Prior to the development process in 1980s, we the local residents shared everything and always worked together and helped each other. We really had a great relationship. Currently, however, we distrust each other and are suspicious all the time of what others do. We are full of rumors, distrust, and suspicious here in Naganeupseong. Don't get me started. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

> In the past [before 1983], there was warm human affection and strong social relationship in the village. But those good things are now all gone. I miss them a lot. (R16, female, 60s)

> I think it was better in the past [before 1983]. Although we were living in extreme poverty, we were all united, working together and having good relationships. Now, although we may live in a better economic condition, there is lots of distrust and caution. (R12, female, 70s)

> Before being designated as a Historic Site in 1983, Naganeupseong was one of the poorest villages among others. The local residents altogether lived in extreme poverty. Although we live in a better economic condition after the development process, we are full of cautions, distrust, and suspect between residents. There are too many conflicts and tensions in this small village. (R2, male, 60s)

Residents who once lived in similar economic conditions prior to 1983 are now living in different conditions based on the amount of compensation they earn for their involvement in the tourism industry. In other words, conflicts arose between residents regarding who gets more or less. In fact, while the level of poverty has decreased, relative deprivation has increased among the local residents, making them feel wary and distrustful of each other. For example, providing meals to the tourists in the guesthouses was a critical issue. If one guesthouse provided meals to tourists, the others complained that it negatively impacted their guesthouses because they did not provide meals, but it also threatened the potential profits of the restaurants in/around the village. Due to this kind of complaint, one resident said that she is no longer providing meals to tourists:

> I once provided meals to the tourists who stayed in my house. I don't know how they knew about it, but other residents, especially those who work in the restaurants, started to blame me for doing so. After having those complaints, I'm not providing meals to the tourists anymore. (R1, female, 70s)

In fact, during the fieldwork, there was only one guesthouse that actually provided the author with meals. While the owner of that guesthouse (R3's wife, 70s) provided meals to the author and explained that "it is the common generosity of people living in rural area," she also cautioned: "Don't tell other residents that I provided you meals because it might cause conflicts between the residents, especially other guesthouses and those who work in the restaurants."

In addition, she added that complaints also came from other guesthouses when a certain guesthouse provided tourists with discounts on the accommodation fee, which is currently $50 per day. Nevertheless, the residents seemed to make efforts to invite more tourists to stay in their own guesthouses for additional income. Local residents often asked the author where I was staying or going to stay. Moreover, they often made suggestions and recommendations of

guesthouses based on their social relations and living locations, which were largely divided in segments such as East, West and South district.

> The guesthouses in the Dongnae-ri [East district] are somewhat gloomy. It will be much better to stay in Namnae-ri [South district] or Seonae-ri [West district]. (R14, female, 70s)

On the other hand, some residents have a negative view of the city-employed workers, especially those who work in the tourist experience centers. Indeed, tensions often exist between the original residents and outsiders working part time in the village.

> Something wrong is going on here in Naganeupseong. The outsiders employed by the local government and working in the tourist experience centers live way better than the original local residents. They receive a monthly income of $700, and houses are provided with the electricity charges waived. They also earn additional income by selling handmade products such as straw shoes, handicrafts, and fabrics. Don't you think something is wrong? (R16, female, 60s)

Currently in Naganeupseong, 21 tourist experience centers are being operated. Among them local residents are employed in 6 tourist experience centers, while the others are operated by city employees from Suncheon City. In fact, those who work in the tourist experience centers are mostly city employees who get a monthly salary. These people are usually hired under a 2-year contract that can be continuously renewed depending on their performance and the budget of the local government:

> Depending on the annual budget of the local government, we [the city employed people working in tourist experience centers] make contracts every 2 years, and it can be continuously renewed. We mainly work from 9am to 5pm here in Naganeupseong, commuting from Suncheon City. (NR3, City employed worker in the Korean paper art experience center, female, 40s)

The local residents, on the other hand, often work at events and festivals held in Naganeupseong as staff, performers and merchants selling local produce and crafts to the tourists.

According to one resident (R8, female, 60s), the local residents employed by the local government during events/festivals are provided with a daily wage of $30.

4.3.2 Between Residents and the Local Government (the Management Office)

Distrust between the residents and the local government became prevalent when the local government excluded the local residents' voices and perspectives from the decision-making process of development and management. Recently, for example, the increase of the entrance fee led by the local government stimulated significant conflicts in the local context. In January 2015, due to an operating deficit, the local government decided to increase the entrance fee from $2 to $4 and the facility rental fee for special events like filming from $150 to $1,000. Despite these increases, however, the distribution percentage of the local benefits decreased from 40% to 30%. Moreover, the facility rental fees, which in the past (before 2015) were distributed to the locals were now being excluded from the total amount of tourism profits shared with locals. According to local media coverage (GBS Suncheon media), before 2015, the rental fees (i.e., annual restaurant rent fees and the site rent fees for filming dramas) were included in the total profit for the village's profit along with visitor entrance fees, and within that total amount, 40% of the profit was distributed to the local residents (Cha, September 7, 2014). However, in 2015 the local government decided to exclude the rental fees from the total budget and began to directly allocate them to the local government's annual budget without distributing them to the residents.

Consequently, although the entrance and rental fees increased, the amount of benefits derived from tourism for the local residents was projected to have no significant change and was even expected to decrease. In other words, in reality, the increased entrance and rent fees were not intended to benefit the locals but to increase the budget of the local government. In fact, this

decision brought no significant benefits to the locals, and some residents even thought that this increase would negatively impact their profit from tourism.

This event stimulated significant conflicts and tensions between the residents and the local government. Some local residents were against the local government's initiatives to increase fees, and they complained that the amount of monetary benefits they would receive would decrease despite the increase of the entrance fee. They also pointed out that some other residents didn't even know about the local government's intention of increasing the fees and complained that the local government had not properly informed the public nor, acknowledged their concerns nor shared essential knowledge that could significantly impact their lives in Naganeupseong.

In addition, the local newspaper also reported the distrust dynamic between the local residents and local government: "The officials of the Naganeupseong Management office are being blamed by the local residents for their arrogant and bossy attitude. In addition, the court has even taken judicial action against some officials for embezzling the national funds" (Lee, September 23, 2015). Due to the dogmatic attitude of the local government in the decision-making process, and the absence of transparency in financial accounting, many local residents had a very negative perception of the local government and of tourism development in general. Among them, the major critical issue was the local government not incorporating or embracing the local resident's voices in the decision-making process:

> The management office is not listening to the residents' voices at all. They just push ahead and force us to simply follow their decisions and plans. (R2, male, 60s)

> When I make certain complaints to the local government, they say that there is nothing that they can do. That's their way of working practices that they have done for years. I get mad when I hear that kind of response from them. They should at least try to understand our situation whether or not they actually take any further actions ... The management

> officials simply exclude those who have different perspectives and opinions from them. (R15, male, 80s)
>
> The management officials mainly do their work at their desks, simply reading and writing documents. They don't know much about the reality that residents are experiencing in their daily lives. I think they don't even care or have interest in us. If they really cared about the residents, they should at least visit our houses to see and understand what makes it so inconvenient to live here in Naganeupseong. Based on those collected data, they should make efforts to make improvements and solve problems. However, they are not doing any of those practical works at all. They just do their office jobs based on the given manuals and guidelines. (R5, female, 60s)
>
> The current development process is being done not by and for the local residents. It's becoming more and more difficult to identify the core values of our traditional culture. What are the officials working for? ... The management office should take our perspectives into account and respond to our demands and complaints in order to resolve or relieve current conflicts and tensions. Currently, however, they are a closed and exclusive management and administration system. If someone stands out and speaks against their perspective and initiatives, they treat them as an enemy and simply ignore and exclude them in the decision-making process. The Cultural Heritage Administration is also aware of the current situation but they are mainly sitting on their hands on the matter. (LR3, director of commercial sector, male, 40s)

Indeed, while some residents had different perspectives and demands regarding the development and management process of Naganeupseong, the management office largely excluded and ignored their voices and perspectives in the decision-making process. For instance, the honorary commissioned village chief complained that the local government only considers and heavily relies on the statements and suggestions of authorities or experts rather than those of the local residents:

> For several years, I have suggested to the management office the necessity of establishing a long-term development plan to ensure consistency. They didn't listen to me at all. However, only after a university professor came in and suggested the same thing did they start to develop a long-term plan. The title and authority of those who speak are that important you know? (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)

On the other hand, in the decision-making process of tourism development and management, the site officials and managers mainly considered those living inside Naganeupseong as *legitimate* locals while largely excluding the relocated residents. Accordingly, the residents who were relocated during the development process in the 1980s complained that the management office is not taking their voices into account:

> We are all locals. We were the ones who were supportive of the development process of Naganeupseong since 1983. We are betrayed. We are living in the buffer zone of a historic site and experiencing certain regulations and discomfort brought on by the tourism industry such as waste and traffic issues...but they are not considering us at all. (R17, relocated resident, male, 70s)

> We are currently living inside the buffer zone of 500m from Naganeupseong, included in the Preservation Area of Cultural Assets. We are also experiencing certain level of inconvenience having restrictions and regulations. There is a height limit, and we can't extend or alter our own property as we please ... Although we are all legitimate residents of Naganeupseong, we are completely excluded from the decision-making process. The management office doesn't care or consider us [relocated residents living outside the village] at all. They only manage the village inside the fortress, without having any interest about the relocated. (R17, relocated resident, male, 70s)

> We should find ways to live altogether. While having all those restrictions, regulations, and inconvenience, we [relocated residents] are not having a proper compensations or benefits. (R18, relocated resident, female, 60s)

> Back in the 1980s, we were naive to be supportive of the local government [Seongju-gun], simply believing their sweet talk and promise that they will make us live in a better condition. Now, however, we don't believe the local government anymore. (R18, relocated resident, female, 60s)

Conflicts have occurred recently between the relocated commercial sector and the management office surrounding the rural market place located in the parking lot area. According to the director of commercial sectors, the management office unilaterally decided to allow the rural market place to operate in the parking lot area without taking the local merchants' stances and opinions into account. Moreover, the official document of the management office that lists

the rules of the operation and permission procedures for the rural market place includes a signature of the director of commercial sectors as evidence of agreement. However, the director insisted that his signature was forged. He said that he wasn't even aware of the process and nobody actually asked him for his opinion. Accordingly, he made public complaints, filing a petition and conducted rallies to disclose the forgery of the official document by the management office. He said that he even tried to put up placards in/around Naganeupseong but actually didn't: "I decided not to do so [putting up placards] because I don't want to give a negative impression to the outsiders who visit the village. This was because I'm also a resident who cares much about Naganeupseong as my own home place." Another merchant of the commercial sector added that there is a major problem in the administration system of the management office.

> The rural market place may indeed have a positive impact on the regional economy because it will benefit the local residents living outside the village as well. I'm not against it. However, the management office should have at least discussed and communicated with us before making the final decision. If they really consider us as legitimate residents, they shouldn't have done so. That's what I think is a major problem. (R19, relocated resident, male, 60s)

In addition, some residents blamed the local government for losing the opportunity to continue to hold the regional festival (Namdo food festival), which had been an annual event held in Naganeupseong during October. In fact, when the Naganeupseong management office requested that the regional government (Jeonranam-do) allocate more budget/funding to host the Namdo food festival, the regional government denied the request and decided to move the event to another city (Danyang-gun) beginning in 2015. Accordingly, since 2015, the Nagan folk culture festival, which had long been held in May, has now been moved to October (10/9-11, 2015) to replace the Namdo food festival (more about this festival later). Regarding this issue, one resident blamed the local government:

> They [the management office] don't even have the ability to properly manage and sustain what we already have [the Namdo food festival]. What can we expect from those people? (R13, male, 50s)

Due to all these conflicts, tensions, and distrust dynamics between the residents and the local government, some residents actively requested a change in the management body of Naganeupseong. One local newspaper article specifically reported "[Due to the distrust dynamics,] some residents are actively requesting and demanding to switch the management body and authority from Suncheon city to Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea" (Cha, September 7, 2014). Regarding this issue one resident explained,

> When the residents make certain complaints or suggestions, the management office should at least listen to them and, if necessary, they should acknowledge the issue to the Cultural Heritage Administration for further consideration. However, the management office is doing nothing at all. Accordingly, some residents actually filed a petition directly to the Cultural Heritage Administration. However, when the management office heard back about the locals' petition, the management officials treated those residents as traitors. The management office then gives disadvantage to those who make public complaints. Something wrong is going on regarding the management structure ... This is why some residents demand the site to be directly managed by the Cultural Heritage Administration rather than the local management office and the local government. (R17, relocated resident, male, 70s)

In a similar vein, the honorary commissioned chief (LR1, male, 70s) also insisted that the Cultural Heritage Administration is doing a better job than the local government in communicating and negotiating with the locals:

> The officials of the Cultural Heritage Administration at least try to hear and consider our voices and make efforts to satisfy our demands. However, the local government [Suncheon City] is not even trying to communicate with us. In fact, I have made numerous public complaints to the management office and spoke my personal opinions related to the development process. However, they didn't listen to me at all and even treated me as an enemy. They treat everyone as an enemy who makes different voices that differ from their thoughts and plans of development and management. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)

He further added that:

> I'm actually employed by the management office and have a monthly wage of $900. However, I'm not working here just for the money. I work here because I care about Naganeupseong, my home village. After having some conflicts with one of the officials in the management office, they told me to leave the village. They actually stopped providing me monthly payments from November this year [in 2015]. It's not surprising to me because this is not the first time for them to do so. They once didn't pay me for 4 months in the past for similar reasons [making different voices and complaints]. They don't like me because I frequently make different opinions from a different perspective. They think I'm just picking on their decision-making process.

Further, the local residents often complained of the officials' short terms in office and their commitment to the site. They considered this system as a barrier to implementing a consistent and sustainable development and management system.

> The appointment term for the officials and directors of the Naganeupseong management office is only 2 years. They come to the site and start working without having a basic or proper knowledge of the village. Moreover, they are eager to do new things and tend not to continue the projects that their predecessors had begun. This is mainly because they wish to make their own unique outcome and performance during their term in order to be recognized and credited for their own significant and distinctive records. This is one of the fundamental ills of the administrative management system in Naganeupseong that prohibits and hinders sustainable and consistent development process. (R2, Male, 60s)

> The officials' term in office is limited [ranging from 6 month to 2 years]. They do whatever they want to do during their commitment and just leave when it's over. It's that simple. Then the new officials start doing completely different things. There is no consistency in this current management system. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 50s)

Consequently, due to the short term in office (maximum 3 years), the officials' knowledge and interest in Naganeupseong's cultural history and values are often questioned by the local residents. For some residents, their limited knowledge further stimulated a skeptical view and distrust toward the local officials.

> The director of the Naganeupseong management office changed a month ago. He currently doesn't have much knowledge about the cultural history or the management system here in Naganeupseong. He is now in learning about the village. Officials in the Naganeupseong management office are officials of the local government [Suncheon City], and their positions are rotated after an appointment term of at least 6 months to 2 years. They are not experts on Naganeupseong, which I think is the main reason for not being able to establish consistent and sustainable development and management. (R9, male, 70s)

> The former director of then Naganeupseong management office didn't have any knowledge about the history of Naganeupseong. When we [commercial sectors outside the village] requested that he remove the restaurants inside the village, he said that the restaurants are historical and traditional public places that were originally placed inside the village. How can a director who represents the village say something like that? (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

4.3.3 Between Residents and Local Representatives

Some residents also distrust their local representatives. Especially targeted are the director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society (a local institution that was first established during the restoration process in the 1980s to effectively represent and reflect the locals' voices in the development process) and the honorary commissioned village chief (who was actually the village chief prior to 1983 but now acts as a folk culture scholar and is employed by the local government).

The director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society was appointed in July, 2015, while the former director was replaced after fulfilling his year and a half commitment. As discussed previously, one of the restaurants that the Naganeupseong Preservation Society had the operational rights for had been closed since October 3, 2015 because of public complaints and the disclosure that officials in the management office had ghostwritten the application for the open bid. This was considered to give inappropriate and unacceptable advantages to the Naganeupseong Preservation Society to win the bid. However, after an investigation, the

restaurant reopened on November 6, 2015. The director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s) indicated that part of the profits from the restaurant would be distributed to the local residents and would eventually benefit them:

> The profits from the restaurants will mainly be used to maintain and operate the Naganeupseong Preservation Society, which will contribute to the village. I'm also planning to distribute profits to the local residents, at least $100 to each of them on special holidays.

However, distrust dynamics still exist between the residents and the Naganeupseong Preservation Society. Indeed, some residents have a negative view regarding the role of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society in the local community.

> The former directors of Naganeupseong Preservation Society have done many bad things, siphoning off and exploiting public money for their own interest. Most of the former directors have mainly resigned after their inappropriate behaviors were disclosed and uncovered. (R16, female, 60s)

> The present director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society currently has the operational right for one of the restaurants in the village. I have no idea what he is up to. I guess he is up to embezzling money from operating the restaurant. (R8, female, 60s)

> The initial purpose of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, which was to represent the local residents' voices in the initial development process in the 1980s, is now spoiled. Currently, Naganeupseong Preservation Society is commercialized and mainly pursues their own interest. In order to recover its original purpose, Naganeupseong Preservation Society should give up the operational right of the restaurant and function as a local institution that incorporates and represents the voices of the local residents. (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

Some residents also hold a negative perception of the honorary commissioned village chief as well. Indeed, some residents considered him someone who only instigates trouble and conflict by unnecessarily stirring up the local residents:

> He [the honorary commissioned village chief] always walks around the village and acts and behaves like a boss. I really don't like to meet or talk with him. I actually don't listen to what he says at all. I just ignore him. (R10, female, 70s)

> He is making conspiracy by provoking people to make changes in the village, which only makes conflicts and tensions. I wish him to stop doing so. The Naganeupseong management office and the local government are doing a good job, and we should largely follow their decisions. They are the experts. (R5, female, 60s)

In all, the residents interviewed had a negative perception of these representatives and saw them as only pursuing their own interest without actually representing the local voices. In fact, they were often described as creating and perpetuating conflicts.

4.3.4 Between Commercial Sectors: The Restaurants and Street Vendors

Within the commercial sectors located in/around the village, three major interest groups were identified: 1) traditional restaurants, 2) street vendors inside the fortress, and 3) the relocated commercial sector located outside the fortress. With everyone trying to ensure and increase their profits, conflicts and tensions emerged not only between groups but also between groups and local residents.

The director of the relocated commercial sector (LR3, male, 40s) is a relocated resident who was originally born and raised in Naganeupseong. His father decided to relocate with compensation from the local government in 1990, and his family opened a restaurant in the commercial sector provided by the local government outside the fortress. Back then, when he was 15 years old, his family believed that Naganeupseong becoming a historic site would bring a positive impact on the regional economy and thus agreed to be relocated.

> Back in the 1980s, the local government [Seongju-gun] officials came into the village and persuaded the residents to follow their plans. They said that they were planning to make Naganeupseong a national historic site, and this would improve our economic condition. They told us that they would revitalize Naganeupseong and provide a lively place for residents to live. Our family cooperated with the local government and was relocated during the development process ... Most of the current business owners are the second generation of a relocated family. However, nothing has changed, and nothing has got

> better for the past 30 years. We are still living in poverty without receiving proper benefits from the development process.

He is now 44 years old and has been the director of the commercial sector for 5 years. He explained that he is one of the youngest adult residents in/around Naganeupseong. However, he complained that he is being blamed by all parties involved: other restaurant owners, the management office, the restaurants inside the village, and the local residents.

For example, there were conflicts between the restaurants inside the village and the commercial sectors located outside the village. Indeed, the merchants of the commercial sector were largely dissatisfied with the existence of restaurants inside the village because most of the tourism profits were gained inside the village, which negatively impacted their interest. In this regard, the director of the commercial sector (LR3, male, 40s) was currently making public complaints regarding the operation of restaurants and street vendors inside the village. He said that those are all illegal and should be removed or demolished:

> The operation of restaurants and street vendors inside the village is completely illegal. Those commercial sectors should be removed. I recently made an official complaint to the Cultural Heritage Administration regarding their existence. Subsequently, on the first day of April, 2015, an expert member of the Cultural Heritage Administration informed the management office the necessity to remove all the illegal buildings. Only then after, the management office started to actually discuss possible things to do with those commercial sectors located inside the village. (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

Moreover, conflicts arose regarding the menu provided to the tourists and the number of seats in the restaurants. Arguments about seating, especially restaurants inside the village with a canopy tent was considered to illegally increase the capacity of the restaurant. The director of the commercial sectors (LR3, male, 40s) contended, "Restaurants canopy tents for restaurants are illegal." (**Figure 4-21**). He further added that he is studying the relevant laws in order to justify and make his voice heard to the management office:

> I'm currently studying the 'Cultural Property Protection Act of Korea' to justify my complaints. What I'm asking to the management office is not something ridiculous or unreasonable. It's all based on the law. The Cultural Property Protection Act Chapter 12, Article 99 indicates that illegal commercial activities in historic sites are subject to up to 2 years in jail or a fine of up to 20 million won [$20,000]. Unless I take a legal act, the management officials don't even listen to me.

Figure 4-21. Restaurant with a canopy tent. Photos by the author.

On the other hand, the director of the Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s) argued that the commercial sectors outside the village are making unnecessary public complaints that only bring further conflict and tensions to the village as a whole:

> The commercial sectors located outside the village are making a profit from the existence of Naganeupseong. They should be thankful for it. However, they always complain and create conflicts only to further increase their own profits. They should stop making these kinds of unnecessary conflicts.

This director, however, agreed with the director of the commercial sector that the existence of restaurants inside the village is the major source of conflicts in the village, not only between the restaurants and the commercial sector outside the village, but also among residents:

> The restaurants are the major source of conflicts. All of the tensions and conflicts began to appear from the restaurants. The old saying of 'where there is money, there are conflicts' exactly describes what's going on here in Naganeupseong. When the restaurants first started to operate in the 1990s, approximately 70-80% of the local residents

> participated in the operation process of those restaurants, working in 3-4 shifts. Those who had an opportunity to run the restaurant in the past have the sense of how much profit or revenue it makes. So they are always skeptical and suspicious regarding who operates the restaurant and how the profits are being used. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

In addition, the vendors located in/around the village were the source of another critical issue. Some residents indicated that the vending booths operated by newcomers are illegal and should be forced to close. They also thought that those illegal vendors might negatively impact other legal commercial sectors, and, accordingly, emphasized the importance for the local government to take the necessary actions to resolve the current conflicts between stakeholders:

> The street vendors are mainly newcomers who came into the village for economic benefits from the tourism industry. They are illegal and should be forced to close. However, the local government is not taking any actual actions. In fact, those vendors are in operation with the connivance of the local government. (R6, female, 60s)

> The illegal vendors in the parking lot area should be forced to close. If they continuously sell products illegally, those who legally sell products in the commercial sector will get frustrated for sure. The local government should take actions and make corrections to avoid any further potential conflicts. (R16, female, 60s)

4.3.5 Between Older and Younger Generations

Tensions have also emerged between the older original residents of the village and the younger generation of officials and newcomers. These conflicts have arisen due to their different perspectives in understanding and interpreting the significance of the site and the corresponding development initiatives. Despite their different perspectives, the voices of the younger generation were largely taken into account, while those of the older citizens were considered old fashioned and outdated and therefore were often ignored and excluded from the decision-making process.

> They [young generation] largely don't care much or have interest in the core values of cultural traditions embedded in Naganeupseong. They are interested in tourist demands

> and preferences, and accordingly focus their efforts on satisfying their ever-changing demands. Older folks like me, we are largely excluded in the decision-making process. They [young generation] treat us like old-fashioned people and simply ignore our voices. They consider us as having no knowledge or understanding if the current trends of tourism. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)
>
> The young generation largely looks down on us [old generation] because they think we are old, ignorant and uneducated. They don't respect our opinions because they consider that we will be simply satisfied as far as we get monetary benefits from tourism. Who would even try to listen to our voices with such a perspective and understanding? (R10, female, 70s)

Indeed, the development and management process of Naganeupseong is being led by the officials of the young generation who are largely focused on tourist demands and expectations, while having less interest in and little attention to the voices of the local older residents. The older generation, who believe themselves to be more knowledgeable about the cultural traditions and history of Naganeupseong than the younger generation, were largely excluded from the decision-making process, and this frustrated them.

4.3.6 Between Original Residents and Newcomers

Some residents think of the newcomers as mainly complaining and protesting about the inconvenient restrictions and regulations involved with living in a historic site. They were often described as having a relatively freewheeling and carefree lifestyle compared to the original residents. Indeed, those residents who have lived in the village for a long period of time, were somewhat accustomed and adjusted to the given circumstances, and reported being most upset and bothered when they encountered newcomers who, in their opinion, only seem to bring about conflict. These complaints subsequently stimulated conflicts and tensions between the original residents and the newcomers. Due to these conflicting perspectives, some residents had critical

concerns regarding further potential flow of newcomers into the village seeking to benefit from tourism.

> Newcomers are louder than the original residents. They actively complain about the living inconvenience and to ensure their own interest. While the residents who lived here for a long period are largely used to the living inconvenience, the newcomers seem to have difficulties in bearing the restrictions and regulations in their daily lives. (R8, female, 60s)

> They [newcomers] are only making complaints and conflicts for their own interest. They are mainly after the economic profits expected from the tourism industry without having any interest or respect for the history and culture of Naganeupseong. I'm worried about how the cultural landscape of Naganeupseong will change in the future when more outsiders flow into the village. (R10, female, 70s)

4.4 WHS Designation Narratives

4.4.1 The Emergence of a WH Interest in Naganeupseong

> When I first suggested to the local government the necessity to prepare for WHS designation in 1995, they ignored and denied my request. Only after other traditional villages, such as Hahoe and Yangdong villages, started preparing for WHS designation, did the local government [Suncheon City] initiate the process of WHS designation and make an application to be listed as a tentative WHS. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s).

According to his statement, the emergence of a global interest in Naganeupseong was not initiated by the local residents but by the local government as an attempt to catch up to and benefit from the current trends of WHS designation. Currently, the decision-making process in preparing for WHS designation is largely led by the local self-government (Suncheon City), and the Art & Culture division of Suncheon City plays a major role in governing and managing the process of WHS designation for Naganeupseong. According to an official in the Art & Culture division of Suncheon City (O4, male, 40s), they are planning to prepare and initiate the WHS designation process in 2016, a complex and time consuming process in his view:

> The process of WHS designation has been backed up for several years, and we are now preparing to work on it. The process is in its early stage. We are planning to focus on the process in earnest next year [in 2016] ... Naganeupseong has certain limitations in its scale and compositions of built environment when compared to other traditional villages in the neighboring states of China and Japan. In order to make a more competitive application for WHS designation, our initial goal is to push forward for a serial nomination with Oeam village [which is located in Asan City, Chungnam province of Korea] and is considered to possess cultural and physical characteristics similar to Naganeupseong. Further discussion should be made at the administration level between local governments and between competent authorities to decide whether Suncheon City and Asan City will work together for WHS designation. There is lots of work to do to prepare for WHS designation, such as document works, meetings and consultations. It really is a complex and difficult process ... However, if Naganeupseong earns WHS status, Naganeupseong will be able to receive increased funds and support from the national level.

On the other hand, the institutional text collected from the local government (Suncheon City, 2015a) specifically indicate the increasing trend and demand for "Globalizing the local cultural heritage by earning a WHS status" in the global context, in order to "share and maximize the significant value of local culture and tourism resources at the global level," as well as to "promote local pride and dignity, and to make the locals play a responsible role in preserving and maintaining their cultural heritage" (p. 834).

However, the text also adds that "Naganeupseong alone has certain limitations to becoming a WHS since Hahoe and Yangdong villages [other traditional villages] have already earned WHS designation [in 2010]." Furthermore, "Naganeupseong would be better placed to aim for a serial nomination with other traditional villages in different locations, such as Oeam village [in Asan City] and Seoungeup village [in Jeju Island]" (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 834-835). Indeed, Oeam and Seoungeup villages are considered to possess characteristics similar to Naganeupseong in terms of representing the civilian culture of the Joseon Dynasty.

Naganeupseong represents a living civilian culture based on folk performances and Sesi Pungsok (Annual Cyclical Rites). These are cultural characteristics considered distinctive from other traditional villages in Korea that have already earned WHS status. For example, in Namhansanseong fortress (WHS designation in 2014), only the built environment (fortress) remains without having actual residents or intangible cultural heritage. Moreover, Hahoe and Yangdong villages (WHS designation in 2010) represent the noble or elite culture of Joseon Dynasty, very different from that of Naganeupseong. In this regard, an official of Suncheon City (O4, male, 40s) indicated that "both tangible and intangible heritage embedded in the civilian culture of Naganeupseong should be effectively integrated and represented as a whole in order to successfully prepare for WHS designation as well as to be competitive in the global context."

The collected institutional text specifically indicates the plans and the expected annual process for WHS designation in 2020 as shown in **Table 4-9**.

Table 4-9. Sequential annual plans for WHS designation from 2016 to 2020

Year	Major plans
2016	Organizing the coordinate system between self-governing communities in Korea - Suncheon city (Naganeupseong), Asan city (Oeam village), Jeju Island (Seoungeup village)
2016-2017	Establishing an academic foundation for WHS designation
2019	Writing and submitting the application for WHS designation
2020	Final decision for WHS designation

- Source: drafted by the author based on the data collected from the local government (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 834)

4.4.2 Current Development Processes Led by the Local Government

According to the institutional texts collected from the local government, the future vision for Naganeupseong is to "Globalize the local heritage by positioning Naganeupseong, a treasure of Korea, in the arms of the global community" (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 881) and to "Globalize the cultural brand of Naganeupseong" (Suncheon City, 2014b, p. 538). Its corresponding goal and purpose is to "Attract 1.3 million tourists by extending the infrastructure for global tourism

(Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 881). In order to reach and achieve this vision and goal, the local government is planning to conduct further restoration projects, particularly as related to the built environment, and develop various tourism programs to meet the potential global demands and expectations (**Table 4-10**). In turn, these efforts are largely aimed to better prepare for WHS Listing designation in 2020. Some of the major projects will be further discussed in detail below.

The local government's interest all along has been mainly focused on tourists' demands and not on the locals. However, as one of the officials (O1, male, 40s) explained, "These projects will eventually benefit the locals. Locals will be satisfied if more tourists visit the site and they benefit from them." In fact, some residents had a similar perspective and welcomed the process of WHS designation as long as they could benefit economically from the tourism industry. However, others were very concerned about possible WHS designation and attracting more tourists to the village. They saw WHS designation as possibly bringing more conflicts between stakeholders, especially surrounding the potential increase of tourism profits.

Table 4-10. Major projects in Naganeupseong (2014-2018)

Major projects	Detailed contents
Preparing for WHS designation	- Naganeupseong waterway restoration and eco pond construction - Naganeupseong restoration project (major buildings) - Nagan traditional culture/food festival (intangible heritage) - Maintenance/preservation of national cultural properties in Naganeupseong
Attracting tourist	- Operation of a variety of cultural tourism programs that can suit the taste of international tourists (especially Chinese and Japanese tourists) - Exhibition/sale of tourism souvenirs in Naganeupseong - Maintenance of the temporary parking lot of Naganeupseong
Local development	- Rural tourism development based on Information & Communication Technology (ICT) - Vitalizing the local business sectors and using local resources (e.g., operation of art bike, rural market, and traditional marriage performance) - Promoting public participation in the restoration process of cultural properties in Naganeupseong to make the process transparent, as well as for educational purposes

- Source: drafted by the author based on the data collected from the local government (Suncheon City, 2014a, pp. 371-375; Suncheon City, 2015a, pp. 881-893)

Naganeupseong Restoration Project

The local government is making efforts to develop cultural resources and to restore and preserve old governmental buildings in Naganeupseong to their original condition (see **Table 4-11** and **Figure 4-22**). These restoration efforts were considered as key components to leverage Naganeupseong to better prepare for WHS designation in 2020. Song (2013) indicates that "restoration of old governmental buildings will help construct and represent the original shape of Naganeupseong, which will further provide better educational circumstances for the tourist experience of traditional culture" (p. 1).

Table 4-11. Annual restoration plans of old governmental buildings in Naganeupseong

Year of restoration	Buildings	Area
2016	West gate	100m^2
2017	Binghuru (official guest house)	120m^2
	Hyangsadang (old government building)	90m^2
	Sachang	200m^2
2018	Saryungchung	90m^2
	Eichung	90m^2
2019	Hoeyouchung	90m^2
	Bonggongchung	90m^2

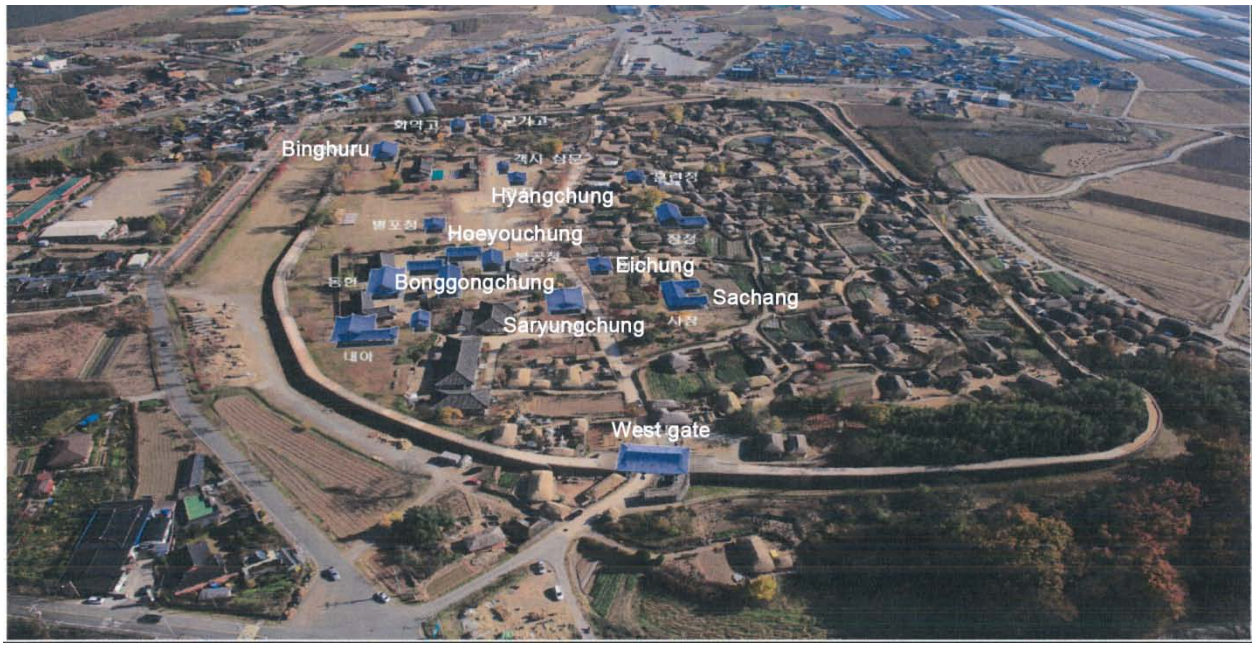


Figure 4-22. Naganeupseong restoration project (2016-2019). Drafted by the author based on a map provided by the management office (Naganeupseong Management Office, 2015b)

Cultural Festivals

The local government provides three major annual festivals in Naganeupseong: Daeboreum (full moon) festival in February, Nagan folk culture festival in May, and Namdo (regional) food festival in September or October. However, as mentioned previously, the Namdo food festival is now no longer being held in Naganeupseong because the regional government (Jeonranam-do) chose another city (Danyang-gun) to host the festival beginning in 2015. However, the local government of Naganeupseong is planning to host a traditional food festival coordinated with the Nagan folk culture festival to replace the Namdo food festival. The purpose of this festival is to "develop tourism products/commodities by using traditional local foods [Bibimbab: boiled rice with assorted mixtures], and to promote the local economy" (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 890). The festival is part of the larger plan to develop and promote intangible cultural heritage and to eventually construct a firm basis for WHS designation.

The 22nd Nagan folk culture festival was held in Naganeupseong (see **Figure 4-23)** October 9-11, 2015. The festival's purpose was to "discover and transmit tangible and intangible traditional culture and to provide a variety of festival programs within the built environment of Naganeupseong," and ultimately the festival aimed to "make a firm basis for and leverage to WHS designation, aimed for 2020" (Nagan folk culture festival pamphlet, 2015).

Figure 4-23. Naganeupseong Folk Culture Festival in 2015. Photos by the author.

A total of 100,000 tourists visited Naganeupseong during the festival and the total entrance fee collected during the festival was approximately $57,000 (Naganeupseong Folk Culture Festival Committee, 2015). The festival was considered to have a positive impact on the regional economy since the local residents in/around Naganeupseong were able to participate in the festival by selling local products and produce directly to the tourists.

In addition, beginning in 2015, the local government is now hosting the 'National Gukak (Korean folk music) Competition' annually during the month of May. This event is expected to create an atmosphere in Naganeupseong of a sacred place where tangible and intangible cultural heritage coexist. It is also thought to strengthen the case for WHS designation in 2020 (Suncheon City, 2015b).

Rural Tourism Development based on Information & Communication Technology (ICT)

This project aims to improve the tourist experience of Naganeupseong's traditional lifestyle with a website that incorporates a variety of tourism content related to Naganeupseong in order to reconstruct the village as a creative and modern rural tourism destination.

The website involves three major sub-projects: 'Naganeupseong running man project,' 'Naganeupseong folk village project,' and 'Naganeupseong traditional village project' (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 884). The Naganeupseong running man project aims to enable tourists to experience and engage in Naganeupseong's tangible and intangible culture with mobile games that exemplify the village and its ways of life. A second section of the website, the Naganeupseong folk village project, integrates the private guesthouses operated and managed by individual residents, into one management system so that tourists can easily access information about the guesthouses in Naganeupseong. Lastly, the Naganeupseong traditional village project

website introduces and encourages tourists to participate in the preparation of traditional foods such as fermented soybeans and toenjang (Korean traditional fermented soybean paste).

Vitalizing Local Business Sectors by Using Local Resources: Art Bike and Rural Market

In order to incorporate local resources into the development process of Naganeupseong and to create a better local community, the local government is planning to promote local business and tourism programs that are to be managed by local companies and residents. These programs include cultural tourism programs, art bike, and the rural marketplace "in ways to create employment and profits that can benefit the locals in general" (Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 888) (see **Figure 4-24, 4-25**).

Figure 4-24. Art bike program in Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

Figure 4-25. Rural marketplace in Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

Attracting Chinese Tourists

South Korea in general, and Suncheon City in particular, are making significant efforts to attract Chinese tourists, the largest segment of international tourists in Korea. Specifically, Suncheon City is seeking to attract 160,000 Chinese tourists by 2020 by extending the tourism infrastructure, developing an aggressive tourism marketing campaign, and developing tourist routes for Chinese tourists, as well as constructing a Chinese theme street (Suncheon City, 2014a, p. 100; Suncheon City, 2015a, p. 287-288). These plans at the local government level are also influencing the landscape of Naganeupseong. In fact, Naganeupseong is planning to offer a rural marketplace and shopping facilities to suit the taste of Chinese tourists, as well as to provide a tourism guide book, brochures, traffic and tourism signage in the Chinese language along with Korean and English versions. In addition, the local government is planning to increase the number of Chinese interpreters and translators in order to create a more attractive Chinese-friendly environment.

4.4.3 Local Resident's Expectations and Fears for WHS Designation

> Residents here in Naganeupseong may not even know the meaning and potential impact of WHS. Their main interest is to gain more economic benefits from tourism industry. In fact, by 2020, about 20-30% of current residents will pass away. Why would they have interest and care about the process of WHS designation in the first place, don't you think? (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

Partially due to a lack of information and the aging society, some residents didn't even know about the process of WHS designation, and some others were indifferent to the process: "I have no interest regarding WHS designation, tourism events or festivals" (R4, male, 70s); "I have heard about the process of WHS designation, but I don't have much interest in it" (R1, female, 70s).

Moreover, uncertainty about the future among the aging population also seemed to focus the alternation of local residents mainly on present or short-term interests and benefits. In other words, uncertainty about future hindered them from gaining a long-term perspective and looking forward. In this respect, many residents said that they would be satisfied as long as they could receive more benefits due to the WHS designation:

> It would be great if our village can become a WHS because it will attract more tourists and increase our benefits from the tourism industry as well. (R5, female, 60s)

> If our village becomes a WHS, there will be more benefits from tourism industry and support from the national and local government. (R3, male, 70s)

When the author specifically asked about their thoughts on potential adverse effects that WHS designation may bring to the village, one resident indicated that it wouldn't be worse than the current situation:

> We are already experiencing a certain level of inconvenience living in a historic site, a tourist destination. Even if the village earns WHS status, it would not be worse. As I get older, I guess I will get more dependent on the benefits from tourism industry which includes tourists' entrance fees and the income from operating guest houses. I will be happy if I can profit from the potential increase in tourists due to the WHS designation. (R10, female, 70s)

Some residents proposed that the WHS designation could serve as a solution to current conflicts by reviving a common cultural identity and pride, as well as bringing national and global attention and improved management to the site. The honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s) insisted specifically that WHS designation should be a priority to resolve current conflicts between stakeholders and to achieve transparency for a better management system:

> WHS designation should be the priority for the village to move forward. If Naganeupseong becomes a WHS, it will help reunite the local residents by creating and providing a shared cultural identity, pride, dignity, and future visions. The residents will

> have an opportunity to rethink and reconsider about the significance of their own traditional culture while helping them to feel responsibility to better maintain their traditional lifestyle. Moreover, as WHS designation will bring global attention to Naganeupseong, it will also help implement a better management system that can effectively resolve current conflicts. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)

However, some others had a negative view of the process of WHS designation:

> There would be nothing good to become a WHS. It will only bring more tourists, which means more noise and waste. The restaurants will need to consume more water and will make more food waste, which is a critical issue in Naganeupseong. Although WHS designation might bring a certain level of pride and dignity to the residents, it will also increase and intensify conflicts and tensions between the residents surrounding the potential increase of tourism profits ... I first thought that the money would give the residents the power to raise their own voices while being united and working together for common and shared interest. However, it really wasn't as expected. Money only brought conflicts and divided the residents into interest groups. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

Another concern regarding tourism development and WHS designation in the context of Naganeupseong has to do with the potential dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development. In particular, how Naganeupseong should be positioned and represented in the global context. On one hand, the officials of the management office largely believe that Naganeupseong should represent Korean traditional culture in general. In this regard, they are making efforts to further develop and globalize the site by creating a variety of tourist programs to meet the demands and expectations of the global tourists, as well as to catch up with the global tourism trends. On the other hand, some local residents insist that Naganeupseong should be more localized based on its specific cultural history and traditions as well as its unique characteristics. They insist that the site should focus on its context-specific history in order to be successfully globalized and to be competitive and sustainable in the global context. They believe that the characteristics of the site should not be dependent on external influences or the changing

demands and expectations of the tourists, but rather should be further developed based on the traditional history of Naganeupseong with its consistent core cultural values and identity.

> The local government is making significant efforts to meet the tourists' demands and needs while paying less attention to the local context. When Naganeupseong becomes a WHS, the local government might further make efforts to meet the global demands as well. If that's the case, sequentially, none of the local elements and values will remain that can represent the core value of locality. (R13, male, 50s)

In a similar vein, some residents have concerns that Naganeupseong might become more staged when it becomes a WHS. They are anxious about the possibility that making efforts to meet the global expectations and demands might gradually change the cultural landscape and lead to unintended or negative consequences:

> I'm worried for the possibility that WHS designation might make our village more commercialized for cultural experience of the tourist. We may be forced to satisfy the tourist demands as well, which might negatively impact our daily lives. (R9, male, 70s)

> If Naganeupseong earns WHS status, we [the residents] might be forced to wear traditional costumes in their daily lives. We are the residents who actually live here. We don't want to be a performer. (R8, female, 60s)

Some local residents actually provided examples of current evidence of the changing cultural landscape and built environment that were largely influenced by the tourist demands and preferences. Some of the examples include the local government decorating the village streets with Western flowers and making modifications to the exhibition houses:

> The management office is decorating the streets inside the village with Western flowers, which I think inappropriate. It should be replaced with local flowers. Moreover, rather than spending budgets in planting flowers, I believe the management office should investigate and focus more on discovering and developing the tangible and intangible cultural heritage embedded in the local context. (R2, male, 60s; see **Figure 4-26**)

Figure 4-26. Street flowers in Naganeupseong. Photos by the author.

> Recently, the management office made some modification to the settings of the exhibition houses [the tourist experience centers]. That is, the squat toilets in those houses are now removed or become invisible due to the tourists' complaints for being uncomfortable to see the dirty toilets. I believe that the exhibition houses should at least be maintained and preserved in their original condition regardless of the tourists' demands and preferences. It is how we lived in the past and it should be represented as it was. We should preserve them in that way. (R14, female, 70s; see **Figure 4-27**)

Figure 4-27. Deconstructed or invisible conventional toilets in tourist experience centers. Photos by the author.

Further, the honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s) also criticized the local government for not adequately representing the cultural traditions of Naganeupseong in the current development process.

> Festival contents such as Hanbok [Korean clothes] fashion show, Ssireum [Korean wrestling], and art bike have nothing to do with the cultural traditions of Naganeupseong. Specifically, the management office invests a significant amount of money in the Hanbok fashion show during the festival, which I think is unnecessary. The local government fails to represent the cultural history of Naganeupseong in a proper manner. Indeed, the

> tourism contents and programs are not aligned with the cultural value and significance of Naganeupseong ... We should make efforts to safeguard, preserve, and transmit the traditional culture embedded in the village, such as Sesi Pungsok [Annual Cyclical Rites][10] and Pansori epic chant[11].

Indeed, Naganeupseong is the birthplace of Song Mangab (1866-1939), a well-known National Pansori singer, and Oh Taeseok (1895-1953), who made a synthesis of Gayageum (Korean zither with twelve strings) and Byung-Chang (singing together in chorus). Sesi Pungsok is also an intangible practice embedded in the village that represents the civilian culture and custom. In this regard, the honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s) emphasized the necessity and importance of further positioning and developing these locally embedded traditional practices at the center, rather than focusing on the Korean cultural in general. In addition, he suggested "the necessity to restore the birth house of Song Mangab and Oh Taeseok in Naganeupseong" as ways to properly represent the cultural significance of the site (Song, 2015, p. 254). In short, he called for the rooting of the site in the local.

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[10] Sesi Pungsok is a ceremonial living custom that takes place in the same period each year based on the lunar calendar, along with period transmission's ceremonial activities. It repeats the same events based on periodicity, which is closely related to the agriculture cycle, including the beginning of farming, sowing, harvesting, and storing. To maintain a close relationship with agriculture, many related events are held in the off-season.

Sesi Pungsok also has a strong regional identity, which certain residents enjoy passing down as their own cultural custom. In addition, different kinds of ceremonies are conducted based on the characteristics of certain family history as well. Sesi Pungsok is mainly divided into four seasons. In spring, many customs take place on Lunar New Year's Day and Daeboreum (full moon). In summer, fall, and winter, customs take place on Dano, Chuseok, and Dongjim, respectively (Academy of Korean Studies).

[11] Pansori is a Korean genre of musical storytelling performed by a vocalist and a drummer. The music is usually performed by one sorikkun (a singer) and one gosu (a drummer playing a barrel drum). The term Pansori is derived from the Korean word pan, meaning 'a place where many people gather,' and sori, meaning 'song.'

According to Korea Tourism Organization (2015), "This traditional Korean music [Pansori] tells a themed story that well demonstrates the nationalistic emotion of both commoners and yanban (aristocrats), where these two different classes and orders by hierarchy can be toppled. With a distinct, inimitable sound, rhythm, and singing technique, Pansori is truly representative of Korea's unique cultural landscape. Pansori enjoyed its popularity for its creativity and unique value in showing all sorts of human emotions. UNESCO proclaimed the Pansori tradition a Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity in 2003."

On the other hand, for those residents who were relocated during the first development process in the 1980s, WHS designation is thought to be another potential threat. They fear that they could experience another drastic cultural and environmental change that might negatively influence their daily lives. Indeed, some residents are anxious about the uncertainty of how WHS designation and its accompanying global influence could impact and change their lives once again.

> WHS designation may only cause another drastic change to the village. We [relocated residents] might be relocated again. (R19, male, relocated resident, 60s)

> When designated as a WHS, the built environment in/around Naganeupseong might further need to be reconstructed to ensure the consistency in its overall appearance of the village [thatch-roof houses]. Our houses [tile-roofed houses] might need to be altered or changed, or even relocated. (R17, male, relocated resident, 70s)

Despite these concerns of relocated residents, their voices were largely excluded in the development process of Naganeupseong. The director of the relocated commercial sector (LR3, male, 40s) specifically complained that the voices of the relocated are absent from the current decision-making process of tourism development and WHS designation:

> I heard that the management office is conducting several studies for tourism development and WHS designation. So far, however, no researchers have actually visited us in ways to incorporate our stances and thoughts in their research projects. Our voices are completely excluded and absent in the decision-making process of development and management.

4.4.4 A Way Forward

> Naganeupseong should remain as a quiet place where visitors can experience cultural traditions and landscapes of the past. Both tangible, such as fortress, private houses, stone walls and old government buildings, and intangible heritage, such as Pansori and Sesi Pungsok, should be maintained in harmony. However, the development process is currently heading in a different direction. This is partially due to the different perspectives of the younger generation, which includes the officials of Naganeupseong management office and the newcomers. Do you think their current plans, such as art bike for example, matches the characteristics of Naganeupseong? How would you feel when

> you see tourists bicycling all around the village? It's ridiculous. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)

The director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society (LR2, male, 60s) had a perspective similar to the honorary commissioned village chief in terms of the future direction of Naganeupseong: "Naganeupseong should be provided and maintained as a historic site for visitors to experience traditional culture and built environment in a calm, static, and quiet atmosphere."

However, these two eminent citizens have different perspectives of the role of the restaurants. While the honorary commissioned village chief suggested that the restaurants should again function as a major source of profits that can economically support the local residents, the director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society indicated that the restaurants should be removed to resolve the conflicts between the residents.

> The purpose of operating the restaurants inside the village should be changed to contribute to public interest by distributing the benefits to the locals and vitalizing the regional economy. The local residents should have the operational rights of the restaurants. The profits should be appropriately distributed to the locals so that the residents can gain power and ownership of the village, which further will help unite the residents as a whole. (LR1, the honorary commissioned village chief, male, 70s)

> In order to resolve current conflicts between the residents, the restaurants inside the village should be first removed and deconstructed. Otherwise, the current conflict and tensions between interest groups will only be intensified and become worse along with the increase of tourism profits and interests. The restaurants bought all the conflicts here in Naganeupseong. It wasn't a good decision for the local government to provide restaurants inside the village in the first place. There are always conflicts between stakeholders surrounding the issues of monetary interest. (LR2, the director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, male, 60s)

In addition, the director of commercial sectors (LR3, male, 40s) had a perspective similar to that of the director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society arguing that the restaurants should first be removed to create a calm and quiet atmosphere:

> The purpose of historic site is to provide visitors an opportunity to learn and experience the built environment and traditional culture. The village should be restored and maintained in its original shape as a calm and quiet place. In order to do so, the restaurants and street vendors located inside the village should be first removed in order to move forward. As far as I know, there is no historic site with commercial sectors [restaurants and street vendors] inside the village other than Naganeupseong.

However, he thought it was ironic that the director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, who currently operates the restaurant, has began to advocate that the restaurants are the major source of conflicts between stakeholders.

> The director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society who now is saying that "restaurants should be first removed to resolve current conflicts" doesn't make any sense! If he really thinks so, why is he currently operating a restaurant? It's ironic. I can't believe in his words unless he first takes a proper action. (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

There are also different perspectives between local representatives in regard to the expectations for WHS designation. While the honorary commissioned village chief insisted that WHS designation should be the priority to resolve current conflicts between stakeholders and to achieve transparency for a better management system, the director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society emphasized the importance of changing the local residents' mindset prior to discussing WHS designation. Otherwise, he thought that WHS designation would only make the current situation worse, since it may intensify conflicts surrounding potential increase of tourism profits.

> Prior to discussing WHS designation, the first and foremost thing to do is to change the residents' mindset and their consciousness structure. The locals should be educated in order to change and reform the perceptions, behaviors, and attitudes that mainly cause conflicts and tensions. Distrust among residents is the fundamental issue that should first be resolved in order to move ahead. Otherwise, WHS designation will only bring more conflicts surrounding the potential increase of tourism profits, and make the current situation worse. (LR2, director of Naganeupseong Preservation Society, 60s)

However, given that there still are some residents (e.g., R1, female, 70s) who say that working in the restaurants is their only pleasure of living in Naganeupseong, simply removing the restaurants may not be the grand solution to resolve their conflicts. Indeed, those who don't cultivate agricultural lands need something to do in their daily lives, and the restaurants and tourism facilities actually provide them with a great opportunity to continuously engage in economic activities.

In this regard, the director of commercial sector (LR3, male, 40s) emphasized the importance of developing an effective management system. He indicated that there should be basic principles and laws in the management system in order to better prepare for WHS designation. He believed that it won't be too late to proceed with the process of WHS designation once the current conflicts in Naganeupseong are settled: "It would be great if our village can become a WHS and I would really welcome it. I'm not against the WHS designation but I don't think it will be possible with all these current issues and conflicts between stakeholders." By complaining that the management office is not taking the relocated residents into account as legitimate residents, he contended that, based on principles and laws, there should be an open space where every potential stakeholder can communicate and participate in the decision-making process:

> There should be basic principles and laws in the management system, which we are currently lacking in Naganeupseong. Based on proper principles and laws, the management office should play a major role in constructing and developing a fundamental framework and basic structure of the management system for the village. Within that framework, there should be an open forum where stakeholders can communicate and participate in the decision-making process. This approach will be essential and important not only to resolve and mitigate current conflicts but also to move forward and better prepare for WHS designation. Otherwise, WHS designation might only bring further conflicts between stakeholders. It will do more harm than good.

Indeed, in the context of Naganeupseong, despite the existing diverse perspectives, perceptions, and opinions between stakeholders regarding the process of preparing for WHS designation to date, no proper communication or dialogue has taken place between stakeholders. Especially for the relocated residents, this issue is critical and it led them to blame the local government's attitude in the decision-making process:

> WHS designation won't be possible without the support of local residents. Unless the management office is willing to communicate with us, we will not yield an inch nor be supportive of the process of WHS designation. We won't go through the same process that we experienced in the 1980s [naively believing and following the local government's decisions]. (R18, female, relocated resident, 60s)

> The local government [Suncheon City] is not acknowledging us about any of the development process, including the process WHS designation. As long as they treat us in that way, we won't support or cooperate with their development plans in any way. (LR3, director of commercial sectors, male, 40s)

In order to actively reflect and incorporate the different perspectives and opinions of the relevant stakeholders in the decision-making process of development and management, the honorary commissioned village chief (LR1, male, 70s) emphasized the importance of collaboration and coordination between private and public sectors, as well as academia:

> Private and public sectors, as well as academia should all join, support, and collaborate in the development process of Naganeupseong. Local government should lead and illuminate the local residents, as well as provide adequate economic support to them. Academia must make efforts to discover and promote the historical value and the significance of Naganeupseong through actively presenting their empirical studies at academic conferences. Currently, however, scholars are not doing much research on Naganeupseong, and the local universities don't have much interest in Naganeupseong either. It is important to encourage scholars to conduct research and to make presentations at academic conferences in order to draw public attention and spotlight the cultural significance of Naganeupseong, these efforts are not being made.

He further suggested the importance of leadership in the development and management process:

> Most importantly, leadership is essential to re-unite the locals as a whole and work together in ways to better preserve and sustain our traditional culture and built environment in an appropriate manner. The director of the management office should be the leader and expert of Naganeupseong with proper knowledge of its cultural history, and he should have a long-term commitment to the site. In addition, an advisory committee or organization that involves expert groups should be established in order to ensure transparency, consistency, and sustainability of the preservation and development process in Naganeupseong.

On the other hand, some other residents were self-critical. Apart from relying on and being influenced by others' decisions, they thought that they should first act as legitimate residents and care about the village in ways to better preserve and maintain their local cultural heritage:

> Rather than to blame and distrust others [who shape and influence our lives], we ourselves should first think critically about what we can do for the village as a whole, apart from pursuing and focusing only on one's own interest. (R12, female, 70s)

> We [the residents] ourselves even don't have much interest in the history and cultural tradition of Naganeupseong. It would be shameful for us to expect others to have interest and demand them to make efforts for us in preserving and maintaining our traditional culture. (R2, male, 60s)

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Discussion

5.1.1 Summary of the Study

To date, extant research has largely focused on the post-effects of WHS designation, examining the various changes that result from WHS designation (Hall & Piggin, 2003; Buckley, 2004; Shackley, 2006; Li, Wu, & Cai, 2008; Yang, Lin, & Han, 2010). However, few studies have explored the initial stages of the planning and development process of pre-designation (Millar, 2006; Bott et al., 2011). Moreover, relatively little attention has been devoted to studying the views of local communities in and around WHSs or taken account of their perceptions and fears of the changes that occur from WHS designation and the accompanying tourism development and management (Jimura, 2011; Su & Wall, 2012). In particular, there is a lack of research to examine the process of developing a WHS from a global-local intersection perspective, exploring the relationship and dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development.

With this in mind, the current study takes a different approach from previous research. Rather than focusing on the effects of WHS post-designation, this research examines the ongoing interaction during the initial process of planning and development (pre-designation). The subject of the study is Naganeupseong, a traditional folk village in South Korea and a prospective WHS that was nominated to the WH Tentative List in 2001. This research employs the theoretical lens of glocalization and focuses on the locals' perspective of Naganeupseong. It explores the intersection of the global and the local and the negotiations between representatives of the two perspectives in the process of constructing and negotiating heritage, a process that is inherently

dynamic, contingent and contested. It examines how, under what conditions, and to what extent the global and the local intersect in the process of preparing for World Heritage Listing.

This study adopts an iterative process of collecting and analyzing data that is guided by institutional ethnography including participant observations, institutional texts, and semi-structured interviews (Smith, 2005; DeVault & McCoy, 2006). It focuses on the local perspectives and understanding of heritage and cultural change from a global/local interaction perspective. It examines the perceived significance of the site, the negotiation process to suit the needs of the global in the local context, as well as the local's expectations and concerns for WHS designation and its perceived corresponding impacts. Indeed, the approach of institutional ethnography has enabled the author to better explore and understand the multifaceted interactions between the global and the local and the negotiation processes involved in constructing heritage in the context of Naganeupseong.

Based on the fieldwork conducted from August through December, 2015, the findings reveal that Naganeupseong is a contested heritage site where stakeholders have different and conflicting perspectives and interpretations of the site, especially as it relate to the process of development and management. While the official narrative of Naganeupseong represents its long cultural history dating from the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910), and showcases the area’s (local) well preserved cultural landscape and traditional lifestyle, this study reveals that, since the site was nominated as a traditional folk village in 1983 and designated as Historic Site No. 302 of South Korea, Naganeupseong and the local community have experienced significant drastic changes in the area's physical and cultural environment. During the restoration and development process of Naganeupseong in the 1980s, major buildings were restored while major residences and convenience facilities were relocated outside the village. In addition, 101 private houses

among 199 in total were either moved or demolished, and as a result 592 residents (101 households, including the commercial sector) among a total of 820 (199 households) were relocated during the restoration process. Consequently, only 228 residents (98 households) currently remain inside the village.

The local community, which was once well united and maintained good social relationships, has largely broken and dismantled since the restoration and development process began in the 1980s. This study found that the local community is currently divided into multiple interest and stakeholder groups, each with their own situation, interest and circumstance (e.g., locals remaining inside the village, groups of relocated residents, business owners and workers, newcomers, and the local managers of the site). Each group has different perceptions and perspectives as well as different demands and expectations for the development and management process. Indeed, as a contested heritage site Naganeupseong involves a variety of stakeholders having different and conflicting perspectives and interpretations of the process of development and management, as well as for preparing for WHS designation.

As the study illustrates, the local residents are cautious and wary of the potential interest in their village from tourism. Distrust between the local government and the residents is another critical issue. The local government is not properly incorporating and embracing the locals' voices in the decision-making process leaving some residents feeling frustrated and excluded. In particular, the site officials and managers who make the decisions consider those living inside Naganeupseong as *legitimate* locals while largely excluding the relocated residents.

Moreover, newcomers clash with the characteristics of the aging population of original residents, and this is also a major source of conflicts and tensions in the village. Further, conflicting interests exist not only between the stakeholder groups but also within them. Indeed,

individuals within groups held different or conflicting interests and demands for the use of the site's cultural resources depending on their different socio-demographic characteristics (including their relationship to tourism). These conflicts and tensions within the local community often made many residents nostalgic for the past.

On the other hand, in the context of Naganeupseong, regardless of where they were living, the locals had inadequate stakes in the process of WHS designation and didn't know much about its ongoing processes. Instead, the process was driven mainly by the local government and without proper knowledge distribution. The institutional texts collected reveal that the government is planning to conduct further restoration projects for the built environment and develop various tourism programs to meet the potential global demands and expectations. Indeed, their interest all along has been mainly focused on tourist demands and not on locals needs.

Some community representatives propose that WHS designation can serve as a solution to current conflicts because it will allow for a reuniting of a common cultural identity and pride, and bring national and global attention and improved management to the site. Others, however, feel that the characteristics of the site should not be dependent on external influences and their changing demands and expectations but rather on the traditional history of Naganeupseong with its consistent core (local) cultural values and identity. Indeed, some residents worry about the uncertainty of how WHS designation and its accompanying global influence would impact and change their lives once again.

Another concern regarding tourism development and WHS designation in the context of Naganeupseong has to do with the potential dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development. It is about how Naganeupseong should be positioned and represented in the global context. Some insist that Naganeupseong should represent Korean

traditional culture in general and tourist programs that reflect and respond to the global tourism trends. The site should be further developed and globalized in order to meet the expectations of the global audience. However, others argue that Naganeupseong should be more focused on its local particularities and based on its specific and unique contents and characteristics. They feel that the site should focus on its context-specific history in order to be success in attracting global interest and to be competitive and sustainable in the global context. They are anxious about the possibility that making efforts to meet the global expectations and demands might gradually change the cultural landscape and lead to unintended or negative consequences for the local.

5.1.2 Contributions to the Existing Literature

This study contributes to our understanding of the process of constructing and negotiating heritage, and to illuminating how heritage is being developed and managed in the cultural context of South Korea. Moreover, this research furthers our understanding of the dynamic process of identifying and managing heritage, as well as how notions of heritage are continuously negotiated and transformed by the intersection of the different perspectives and interpretations of different stakeholders of the local community, as well as those between the global and the local.

This research responds to the increasing calls for further literature on tourism and heritage management and suggests the importance of understanding and embracing the diverse perspectives and demands of the local community through collaboration and coordination to create a sustainable environment (Harvey, 2001; Turnpenny, 2004; Waterton, 2005; Rao, 2010). Specifically, Chhabra (2012) argues that "One of the basic discussions about local community and heritage is to what extent and in which manner dissonance exists in the manner public

heritage and its benefits are viewed by different sections of the community ... It is being increasingly recognized that foundations of a healthy, socially inclusive, and harmonious society rest on the ability of the public institutions to reconcile dominant cultural heritage perspectives with existing socio-cultural values of the local community" (p. 1702). Indeed, previous literature highlights the notion of contested heritage where dissonance and competing perspectives and interpretations exist between and within the interest and stakeholder groups (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996; Santos & Zobler, 2012). Accordingly, it is essential to understand and incorporate the diverse voices of each group of the local community in the decision-making process of development and management of WHSs. In fact, heritage value, meaning and its significance are not fixed but always a product of interaction and negotiation between stakeholders at different levels (Salazar, 2012).

The existing literature, however, argues that there is still lack of actual research in practice, apart from theory, that explores the dissonance in heritage sites in reality (Millar, 2006; Yang, 2011). With this in mind, this dissertation extends and contributes to the existing literature by conducting an empirical study in Naganeupseong, a prospective WHS in South Korea. By focusing on the initial stage of the development and management process of pre-designation, it explores and identifies the existing diverse and conflicting perspectives and interpretations of the local community members of Naganeupseong.

Furthermore, by employing a global-local intersection perspective in understanding the current cultural landscape and change of Naganeupseong, this dissertation contributes to illuminating the ongoing dynamic interactions between global priorities and local needs for development. According to Harrison (2010), WHS implies that "it is 'owned' (at least culturally) not only by the local people but also by the world community," and accordingly, "there is the

potential for a range of different ways of relating to, understanding the significance of, and giving meaning to heritage objects, sites and practices" (p. 8). Consequently, a significant level of interaction occurs between the global and the local in the negotiation process of constructing cultural representations, interpretations, and value systems, making heritage itself a dynamic process. In the current context of Naganeupseong, however, the local community seems to not be fully prepared to effectively face and negotiate the potential global influence because of the absence of an effective and inclusive management system that can embrace and represent the locals' voices as a whole. In its current situation the village is full of cautions, conflicts, and distrust dynamics that consequently hinders the construction and establishment of the core cultural value and identity of the local community.

So while the local government is expecting and planning further restoration and development plans to globalize the site by focusing on meeting the demands and expectations of the global community, some residents are emphasizing the importance of resolving the current tensions and conflicts between interest groups in the village, as well as constructing a core value of locality prior to facing the potential global influence of WHS designation. Some others fear that the potential global influence is a potential threat that can negatively impact their daily lives. These issues point to the importance of constructing an effective and properly vetted management system.

Given that the consequences of globalization and cultural tourism development are not always positive (e.g., Greenwood, 1977; Teo & Yeoh, 1997; Medina, 2003), it is important to construct a firm basis of locality in order to create a distinctive and sustainable glocal culture (Robertson, 1994; Khondker, 2005; Mazzarella, 2005). Indeed, the concept of glocalization suggests that the characteristics of global/local interaction may vary greatly depending on the

specific local context. It also suggests that the meanings of local culture are continuously reshaped and articulated over time due to the dynamic intersection between the global and the local. In order to achieve a successful and sustainable outcome of glocalization, the local should have the power to effectively control and manage the global influence. Indeed, in order to be sustainable the local and the global should have equal power and status in the negotiation process of constructing cultural value and identity. Otherwise, the ever-changing demands and expectations of the global influence might negatively impact the local culture and landscape and make the site placeless and meaningless (Relph, 1976; Torres & Momsen, 2005).

Overall, the case of Naganeupseong reveals the complexities and dynamisms of the local context that involves different perspectives and interpretations of the development and management process of the site, and provides valuable and useful insights into the understanding of discursive cultural identities, representations and landscapes of a pre-designated WHS site.

5.1.3 Implications of the Study

> Raindrops begin forming when water vapor condenses on micrometer-sized particles of dust [or salt or smoke] floating in the atmosphere. The dust particles grow to millimeter-sized droplets, which are heavy enough to begin falling. As they fall, the droplets accumulate more and more moisture, until they become the large raindrops that we see here on the ground. (Brumfiel, 2001, p. 14)

According to this description, a tiny speck of dust is the essential core element that initiates the process of forming of raindrops. Indeed, raindrops cannot be constituted without that dust. When referring to the dust as the core values of a locality and raindrops as the consequence of glocalization or WHS designation, the formation of raindrops provides a valuable insight to this research: the importance of constructing a tiny speck of locality. That is, the core values of locality should be firmly constructed and established, and based on that construct, global

influence should provide additional layers of meaning and interpretation that result in fruitful drops of rain. Without this core value, however, the ever-changing global demands could potentially lead to adverse consequences. Indeed, the raindrops could cause a mindless and destructive flood in the local community, which might ultimately harm and destroy the local culture and built environment.

What will happen when global priorities overshadow the local demands and needs, especially when the local is not fully prepared for the global influences and expectations? The global influence might create adverse effects for the local, leading to unexpected and unintended globalization like cultural commercialization, acculturation, and misrepresentation (Cohen, 1988; Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994; Cheong & Miler, 2000; Taylor, 2001; Cole, 2007; Yang & Wall, 2009). In order for Naganeupseong to be successfully glocalized during the ongoing intersection and negotiations between the global and the local, the core cultural identity, value and significance of the locality should first be strongly constructed, identified, and developed at the center. To do so, communication, collaboration, and coordination between stakeholders based on comprehensible leadership would be crucial and essential (Evans, 2005; Jamal & Stronza, 2009; Rao, 2010). In this light, several theoretical and practical implications can be inferred both for constructing the core values and identity of the local, and for promoting sustainable tourism and heritage development and management.

First, a transparent, consistent, and systemized management system/structure should be established and developed to incorporate a variety of voices of different stakeholders involved in the given context (Ladkin & Fletcher, 2005). Because of the absence of this effective management system, the local community of Naganeupseong is currently experiencing significant conflicts and tensions within and between management, interest and stakeholder

groups. Moreover, the management structure limits the term of office for officials, and the frequent turnover is another critical issue that hinders sustainable and consistent development and management in Naganeupseong. The implications of Naganeupseong's experience is that the management system of a WHS should be transparent and consistent with basic principles and laws that every stakeholder can trust and follow. Ultimately, these efforts would not only help resolve the current tensions and conflicts within the local context, but would also ensure sustainable development and management in the long run, even after WHS designation. Indeed, management of dissonance and constructing a shared sense of heritage is crucial and essential to promote sustainable heritage preservation and tourism development (Chhabra, 2012; Santos & Zobler, 2012).

Second, the issue of power and legitimacy between potential stakeholders should be properly identified, addressed and managed. Timur and Getz (2008) suggest the importance of considering the distribution of power between stakeholders and state, "power and legitimacy are the core attributes of a stakeholder identification typology" (p. 446). In the context of Naganeupseong, however, the power is not being properly distributed to the local residents when it comes to the decision-making process of the local government. Indeed, the development and management process is largely led by decisions made by the local government officials alone. Moreover, while the local government considers the remaining residents living inside the village as legitimate residents, the relocated residents (including the commercial sector) living outside the village are largely excluded and ignored. Naganeupseong shows that it is essential to identity every stakeholder and include them in the decision-making process of development and management. Indeed, identifying all potential legitimate stakeholders should be considered as a starting point to move ahead.

Third, an inclusive and reactive approach to the process of development and management should be promoted by encouraging communication and interaction between all the identified stakeholders (Turnpenny, 2004). Given that there is no monolithic knowledge nor grand recipe for the process of tourism and heritage development and management, it is essential to encourage stakeholder collaboration and knowledge exchange in the decision-making process (Millar, 2006; Rao, 2010). Indeed, local participation in the development process should be strongly encouraged with respect, and all potential stakeholders should work together to identify and develop best practices (Blackstock, 2005). In this process, the local government should play a leading role in incorporating the different perspectives of the local interest groups and take them all into account when making plans and decisions for development and management. Increased communication and cooperation between stakeholders will ultimately help the local community as a whole to unite and share a common cultural identity and pride, as well as future goals and visions. This approach is crucial for a smooth-functioning community, especially when it comes to WHS designation.

Fourth, the local community as a whole should be properly informed and educated about the potential impact of tourism development and WHS designation. Drost (1996) specifically indicates that educating stakeholders and raising their "awareness of the physical and sociocultural environment are fundamental to achieving sustainable development" (p. 482). The local residents should not merely be the passive victims of development and cultural change but rather should actively participate and engage in the decisions for their community. The locals would gain strength through proper knowledge and education, and that would empower them to appropriately own, control and manage the representation and interpretation of their own cultural identity. In the decision-making process of WHS designation, proper knowledge should be

shared, distributed, and managed by taking the diverse locals' voices into account. Otherwise, the cultural site will only become superficial and staged to meet the ever-changing tastes and demands of the global tourist. Indeed, "future planning will require greater awareness and education of all stakeholders and the creation of forums for exchange of information and negotiation" (Yang & Wall, 2009, p. 568).

Fifth, in the context of Naganeupseong, plans for the potential increase of newcomers, as well as for the aging population should be specifically developed and prepared. What will happen in Naganeupseong in the next generation if it’s designated as a WHS with further tourism development? Residents' agricultural activity will decrease as they get older and cannot bear the hard labor anymore, while dependence on the tourism industry might significantly increase. Naganeupseong is an aging society, and the number of young people will further decrease over time, while the flow of outsiders looking for economic benefits from tourism into the village will further increase. Consequently, different social relations, dynamics, and new conflicts may be generated in and around Naganeupseong. These ongoing and changing dynamics of social relations and landscapes should be considered critical. In order for the local community to effectively face the potential socio-cultural changes, the importance of communication and collaboration between stakeholders should once again be emphasized. Through communication and coordination, the local community should work together to identify and manage potential opportunities and threats and develop adequate plans to prepare for and prevent potential adverse effects from unforeseen future changes.

These implications provide valuable insights not only for this research site but also for the broader context of heritage management and sustainable tourism development. Indeed, this analysis of a specific site also enhances and contributes to our understanding of the broader

subject of the global-local nexus in general. To be sure, other sites are dealing with such issues. For example, the local community living in the Rock Sites of Cappadocia, Turkey (WHS designation in 1985) is facing living inconvenience, modern development and damage to some of the ancient sites along with increasing global influence and tourism development (UNESCO, 2016). This research ultimately provides significant theoretical and practical implications for sustainable development, planning and management where tourism and preservation can work together for mutual advantage while limiting or minimizing the negative impacts that are part and parcel of tourism development.

Moreover, this research contributes to other pre-designated heritage sites around the globe that are facing and experiencing a similar process of making and managing heritage and tourism in the process of preparing for WHS designation, especially those that involve the actual residents and local community in and around the site. Currently there are a number of such sites in the global context such as Thembang fortified village in India (42households, 250 residents; WH Tentative Listing in 2014); Traditional settlement at Nagari Sijunjung in Indonesia (76 households; WH Tentative Listing in 2015); Bawomataluo village site in Indonesia (500 households, 7,000 residents; WH Tentative Listing in 2009); Railway village of Paranapiacaba in Brazil (450 households, 1,100 residents; WH Tentative Listing in 2014); The old villages of Hollókő and Rimetea in Romania (126 households; WH Tentative Listing in 2012); The historical village of Abyaneh in Iran (WH Tentative Listing in 2007); and Rijal Almaa heritage village in Assir Region, Saudi Arabia (WH Tentative Listing in 2015) among others. The implications of this research offers valuable insights to other pre-designated sites into ways to effectively face and negotiate the potential global influence of WHS designation, and to ensure and promote sustainable development in the long run.

5.1.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

By adopting institutional ethnography, this research involved participant observations, interviews, and institutional texts to better understand the local context of a potential WHS from a holistic perspective (Campbell & Gregor, 2005; Smith, 2005; DeVault & McCoy, 2006). Indeed, this multiple method approach enabled the author to better incorporate the characteristics of complex and dynamic social relations in understanding the locals' lived experiences. While participant observation helped to construct an initial understanding of the local context in general, institutional texts revealed the ruling relations that coordinate the local context in specific. Interviews further enabled the author to pursue specific questions, topics, and issues in greater depth.

The author made significant efforts to better represent the locals' perspectives and understanding by involving a variety of stakeholders of Naganeupseong including the remaining residents in the village, relocated residents (including the commercial sector), non-residents, local representatives, tourism workers and local officials. Moreover, when interviewing the residents living inside the village, the author tried to equalize the number of participants from the three districts of Naganeupseong (6 in West district, 5 in East district, and 5 in South district) in order to better represent the locals' voices.

Despite the strength of this research, certain limitations remain in generalizing the findings, mainly due to the limited sample size. Future research may benefit from employing a quantitative approach and conducting a large sample survey. The findings of this research could help organize and develop the survey questionnaires. Moreover, while this research mainly focused on the local community and their perspectives on the heritage management and development, future researchers might benefit from conducting studies to further understand the

perspectives of tourists to determine how they see and perceive the significance of Naganeupseong. These efforts overall would increase our understanding of constructing and making heritage.

In addition, if and when the site actually earns WHS status in the future, the results of this study will be meaningful as basic knowledge that can be compared to or contrasted with any possible change in heritage and tourism development and management. The findings of this research may function in the future as useful fundamental data for follow-up research that would measure and evaluate the actual impact of WHS designation such as change of perceived significance of the site among stakeholders, change of heritage management and perceived benefits and costs of tourism.

5.2 Conclusion

Heritage is a social construction that reflects the needs of the present. According to Smith (2006), heritage is "a social process concerned with the creation and maintenance of certain social and cultural values" (p. 42). As such, conflicts and tensions among various stakeholders, each of whom has a different interpretation of the past, are inherent. In the context of Naganeupseong the critical issues were the different perceptions and perspectives between stakeholders in the process of WHS designation, the lack of communication and transparency between stakeholders, as well as the unequal power distribution and legitimacy issues. Currently, the process of tourism development and WHS designation for Naganeupseong is led by the local government, and those officials rarely share their knowledge and information with the locals. Indeed, the process of making heritage has been defined by the 'Authorized Heritage Discourse' (Smith, 2006), and the significance of heritage has been determined mainly by a privileged few, those with the power to

judge and decide what is valuable to preserve and what is not. As a result, the importance of considering the locals' perceptions and perspectives has been largely neglected.

There remains a lack of consideration for the views of local communities regarding the potential changes (economic, social, cultural and environmental) from tourism and/or the WHS designation process. Indeed, Smith and Wobst (2005) indicate that "More and more decisions that affect indigenous peoples and their communities are made at the global level, far away from local realities...often indigenous peoples have neither voice nor representation in the global decision-making that affects their lives" (p. 6). Given that locals are the ones who experience the direct impact of the development process, it is therefore important to understand the impacts of a management structure, heritage preservation, development plans and potential tourism on the local community. "We should find ways to live together and coexist" says one resident (LR3, male, 40s) and adds that in order to do so, there should be room for open communication between all stakeholders.

Returning to the notion of glocalization, if and when the site earns WHS status, the global and local intersections will occur within unequal power relationships that might harm the local culture and lead to unintended or negative consequences. In order to properly face the potential global influence, the local officials, government leaders and tourism experts should make significant efforts to identify all potential stakeholder groups and take them into account in the decision-making process of tourism development and WHS designation. They should also play a critical role in implementing an efficient management system that can stimulate stakeholder communication and share information regarding any corresponding consequences that could impact their daily lives. This approach would not only strengthen local community ties, but also enable locals to effectively face and negotiate the potential global influence if and when their

community is designated as a WHS. Indeed, globalization is always mediated by local factors, producing unique outcomes in different locations (Teo & Li, 2003).

Overall, this study furthers our understanding of the intersections of the global/local processes involved in determining what constitutes WH by focusing on the perspective of the local community. It also serves as an excellent opportunity to understand the impacts of such processes from a pre-WHS designation perspective. In addition, this research provides theoretical and practical implications to not only sustain heritage tourism in the local context, but also for the broader global context in maintaining and enhancing the diversity of cultural heritage and tourist attractions. This research further enhances the possibilities to preserve, maintain and develop cultural diversity, which eventually will help make cultural tourism more valuable and worthwhile, as well as deliver on its promise of cross cultural understanding, community engagement and social justice. Ultimately, my goal is to advance a call for continued and furthered involvement of local communities in the WHS nomination processes, as well as tourism development processes. We must continue to push for a dialogue that puts people at the center of such processes, and the implication on their ways of living.

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APPENDIX A: Informed Consent Letter

Dear Participant,

Our names are Sanghun Park and Carla Santos. Sanghun Park is a doctoral candidate in the Department of Recreation, Sport and Tourism at the University of Illinois. Carla Santos is an Associate Professor in the same department. We would like to include you, along with other participants, in a research project to understand the process of global/local intersections in the context of Naganeupseong, a prosepective WHS. If you take part in this project, you may help us to better understand the local's perspective in cultural change, as well as expectations and fears for WHS designation and tourism development. While you may not benefit personally from your experience, you will benefit from knowing that you contributed valuable information to the study of tourism and cultural understanding.

As a participant in the research we will ask you to participate in an in-depth interview which will last no more than 90 minutes and to talk about your experiences living in Naganeupseong. By giving your consent to participate in this research, you acknowledge that you are at least 18 years of age. With your permission, I would like to audiotape the interview. Your participation in this project is completely voluntary and we anticipate that there are no risks to this study greater than what you experience in normal life. You are free to stop participating at any time, or to decline to answer any specific questions. You are also free to withdraw your permission for participation at any time and for any reason by contacting us.

Audiotapes obtained during this research project will be kept strictly secure and all identifying information, such as your name or the names of anyone you may mention will be replaced with a pseudonym to protect your identity. The audiotapes will be kept in a locked file cabinet and will be accessible only to project personnel. The audiotapes will be transcribed into a WORD file and will be kept in secure, password protected computer of the University of Illinois which will be accessible only to project personnel. All audiotapes will be erased after transcription.

The results of this study may be used for a dissertation, reports, journal articles, and conference presentations. Pseudonyms will be substituted for any identifying information. The informants' identities will to be protected and their anonymity preserved, and findings will be reported at aggregate levels to respect participant confidentiality.

In the space at the bottom of this letter, please indicate whether you do or do not want to participate in this project, as well whether you will grant me permission to audiotape the interview. If you have any questions about this project, please feel free to contact us either by mail, e-mail, or telephone. The second copy of the form is yours to keep.

Sincerely,

Sanghun Park, Investigator	Carla Santos, RPI
(217) 550-5329	(217) 333-4410
spark156@illinois.edu	csantos@illinois.edu

I do/do not (circle one) agree _____ (your name) to participate in the research project described above.

_____ Date _____ Signature

I give permission for my interview to be audio-taped.
_____ (please check to grant permission)

_____ Date _____ Signature

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 or via e-mail at irb@illinois.edu

APPENDIX B: IRB Approval Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
528 East Green Street
Suite 203
Champaign, IL 61820

08/07/2015

Carla Santos
Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall
1206 S Fourth St
M/C 584

RE: *Exploring global and local intersections at a prospective World Heritage Site in South Korea*
IRB Protocol Number: 16067

EXPIRATION DATE: 08/06/2018

Dear Dr. Santos:

Thank you for submitting the completed IRB application form for your project entitled *Exploring global and local intersections at a prospective World Heritage Site in South Korea*. Your project was assigned Institutional Review Board (IRB) Protocol Number 16067 and reviewed. It has been determined that the research activities described in this application meet the criteria for exemption at 45CFR46.101(b)(2).

This determination of exemption only applies to the research study as submitted. Please note that additional modifications to your project need to be submitted to the IRB for review and exemption determination or approval before the modifications are initiated.

We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our website at http://oprs.research.illinois.edu.

Sincerely,

Rose St Clair

Rose St. Clair, BA
Assistant Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

c: Sanghun Park